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CONSTANTINE'S VICENNALIA AND THE DEATH OF CRISPUS

Constantine the Great was proclaimed emperor on 26 July 306, and he died 22 May 337. He thereby became the longest reigning Roman emperor since Augustus. It was the custom that emperors - who survived long enough - celebrated their accession to the throne regularly, usually every five years[1]. The anniversaries were celebrated with festivities and donatives. Vows were undertaken for the well-being of the emperor. These vows were regularly recorded on coins, and there was a sophisticated system for vows fulfilled (soluta) or paid (suscepta)[2]. Constantine's 20 years anniversary - his vicennalia - ended in disaster instead of triumphant celebrations, and they are the focus of this paper[3].

Constantine's anniversary year began on 26 July, the day his father Constantius I had died in York in 306. Constantine was proclaimed emperor by the troops. Twenty years later Constantine's vicennalia took place, lasting from 26 July 325 to 25 July 326. The vicennial year turned out to be crucial not only for Constantine and his family, but for the course of the Roman empire.

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1 The fifth anniversary of accession was the quinquennalia. The ten year anniversary was the decennalia, followed by the quindecennalia after 15 years, and the vicennalia after 20. Constantine lived to celebrate his tricennalia after 30 years in power.

2 See Bruun 1966, pp. 56 ff.

3 **Remarks on terminology**:

Names: To avoid confusion, Constantine I is herein consistently called Constantine, whereas his sons are called Constantine caesar, Constantius caesar, etc.

Vicennial journey: This is the journey undertaken by Constantine and the court in the second half of the vicennial year. The journey began in Nicomedia in early 326 and finished in Rome in July the same year.

Return journey: This started from Rome in September 326 and finished in Nicomedia in July 327.

Dynastic bronzes: These are the coin-size bronze pieces with anepigrapic obverses showing the bust/head of the imperial member, and with reverse giving the name and title of the member. They circulated with the normal coinage and are therefore called coins herein.

Vicennial issues: These include all gold and silver coins and medallions minted during the vicennial journey, and also the dynastic bronzes.

RIC references: Unless stated otherwise, all references herein are to Volume 7 (Bruun 1966). They are given as mint and RIC number.

PRD: pearl ring diameter across coin as defined by Ramskold 2011.

Constantine's visit to Rome at the end of his vicennial year, the long-awaited climax of the celebrations, ended in turmoil. Constantine's eldest son and heir-apparent Crispus was executed on his father's orders, and Constantine's wife Fausta, the mother of his three remaining sons, died under unclear circumstances. The causes for their deaths were only vaguely known to people at the time, and all theories that have been proposed are conjectural, based on unreliable statements in the antique sources. Constantine had already executed his former co-regent Licinius, and now broke his promise to spare Licinius' son and had him executed. A clash between Constantine and the Roman nobility resulted in a break down in relations, and Constantine turned his back on Rome[4]. Instead, his energy was focused on his new city Constantinople, and although the symbolic significance of Rome remained immense[5], enormous material resources were directed to Constantinople, which soon prospered. The latter city was inaugurated four years later, not just as Constantine's city of residence, but specifically hailed as the equal of Rome[6].

Constantine's vicennial celebrations have long been recognized as an important event. The author believes that the vicennial year was pivotal for the course of western civilization. The family tragedy and shift of gravity from Rome to Constantinople had political and strategical origins, and few or none of the crucial events of the year appear to have been of a religious nature. However, most modern accounts of Constantine's reign focus on his religious undertakings. His political, military and family history is often used simply as a background. In addition, evidence from his coinage has even been explicitly relegated to "a secondary role"[7]. Bruun (1966), however, dealing with Constantine's coinage, saw the importance of coinage for the understanding of Constantine's reign, including the vicennalia[8]. He stated: "The year of the twentieth anniversary of Constantine's ascent to the throne saw the sovereign of the Roman world travel back to the old capital, and once more the road was marked by short bouts of gold coinage in the mint cities he chose to visit, Thessalonika, Sirmium and Ticinum" [9]. Bruun did not, however, realize that also the dynastic bronzes discussed herein were part of the vicennial celebration issues.

A dynastic Crispus coin from Rome

Crucial to his study was the discovery of a unique bronze coin struck in the name of Crispus **(Fig. 1)**[10]. The discovery permits a more precise dating of

[4] Among other things, Constantine closed the mint of Rome. See below.

[5] Van Dam 2010 has explored this subject with brilliance.

[6] The equal status of Constantinopolis and Rome was promoted through coinage, see Ramskold 2011.

[7] Barnes 2011, p. 17.

[8] Bruun (1966, index) gave numerous references to the vicennalia, and he recognized many vicennial gold and silver issues.

[9] Bruun 1966, p. 15. Bruun (1961:102-104) pioneered the idea that the emperor's itinerary was linked to the struck gold and silver. Since his seminal studies (1961, 1966), it seems that no scholar has tried to refute his idea, but on the other hand, no one has has added to it either. The present author ackowledges his deep debt to Bruun's ideas.

[10] The coin was in the White Mountain Collection, and was part of CNG Electronic

Fig. 1. Newly discovered dynastic bronze for Crispus from the mint of Rome. Not in RIC. Private collection. Diameter 18.0mm, weight 1.94g.

Сл. 1. Новооткривена династичка бронза за Криспа из ковнице у Риму. Није кованица из царске ковнице. Приватна колекција. Пречник 18.0 мм, тежина 1.94 г.



the fall of Crispus than has been previously possible. The date sheds no light on the causes of the tragedy, but invites a discussion of the consequences for Constantine and the empire.

In order to date the coin, evidence is presented herein for the following circumstances:

1. Constantine's journey from Nicomedia to Rome during the vicennial year can be reconstructed by combining written evidence (mainly from the Theodosian Code) with numismatic evidence.
2. Dynastic bronzes were part of the celebration issues struck at the mints along Constantine's vicennial route. In each place, they were produced only during the court's stay.
3. There were two completely separate issues of dynastic bronzes struck in Rome, produced several years apart.
4. The first of the dynastic issues from Rome was struck during Constantine's visit for the vicennial celebrations in July 326.
5. The new coin belongs to the first dynastic issue from Rome.
6. The new coin shows that Cripus was alive and well during the initial part of Constantine's stay in Rome.
7. The sparse and delayed silver production and the reduction or even inhibition of gold vicennial issues from Rome show that the family tragedy profoundly disturbed the vicennial celebrations.

CONSTANTINE'S VICENNIAL JOURNEY FROM NICOMEDIA TO ROME

The dates and places given in the Codex Theodosianus[11] give an outline of Constantine's vicennial journey, but there are several gaps and ambiguities[12]. Fortunately, Constantine's itinerary can be deduced using the evidence from both gold issues (see Appendix 1) and a unique type of bronze coins, or rather small medallions, issued by the mints along Constantine's route. With one ex-

Auction 242 (13.10.2010), lot 402.

[11] http://webu2.upmf-grenoble.fr/DroitRomain/, based on the Latin text of Mommsen and Meyer's edition, Berlin (1905).

[12] The author has in general followed the dates of Seeck (1919) but with emendations forwarded by Bruun (1961, 1966).

ception (Rome, see below), the bronze types were never used again, which gives them prime importance. They are the so called dynastic bronzes, all with an anepigraphic obverse showing the head or bust of the imperial member in question, and the name and title spelled out in a few lines on the reverse. These pieces are similar in size and weight to the standard bronze coins, but do not follow the pattern of the normal production. In some mints, they were struck in a single officina only, or lack indication of officina altogether. Like the gold and silver struck along the route, the dynastic issues are regarded here as donatives, having been struck at the residence of the emperor only. They were clearly intended as propaganda pieces, promoting the members of the imperial family. For these bronzes, Zschucke (1989) introduced the term Schaudenare, "Medallions for the people". He later (2000) laid out the sequence for their production along the route of the travelling emperor, a sequence further elaborated on here.

Constantine's itinerary

After the final defeat of Licinius at Chrysopolis 18 Sept 324, Constantine began work at consolidating his power. It was of prime importance to build a dynasty. His two eldest sons Crispus and Constantine had been elevated to caesars already in 317, and on 8 November 324, Constantine conferred the rank of caesar on his son Constantius, raising the number of caesars to three. It is likely that at the same time, his wife Fausta and his mother Helena were declared augustae.[13] After the imperial celebrations, Constantine planned to travel east, intent on staying in Antioch in late 324 - early 325. Many scholars today doubt that Constantine ever reached Antioch. This question has some bearings on the theory of the Travelling Mint, and it is therefore discussed in Appendix 2.

In February 325, Constantine was in Nicomedia[14]. He seems to have remained there to preside over the Nicaean Council, which opened 20 May and closed 19 July. The date of closure was perhaps less dictated by the religious issues discussed than by a concern more important to Constantine: it was only six days before his year of vicennial celebrations would begin. The council was terminated and the vicennial celebrations commenced at Nicomedia[15]. Little is known of Constantine's place of residence during the remainder of 325, but it is most probable that he remained in or near Nicomedia. One may assume that he visited Constantinople, to direct the building activities there, and he may well have visited other cities nearby,[16] including Cyzikus, a city that had an imperial mint. In any case, Cyzikus struck a full series of dynastic bronzes of the type associated with Constantine's vicennial celebrations (see below).

In early 326, Constantine set out on the journey to Rome (**Fig. 2**). In February-March he stopped in nearby Heraclea,[17] but no coins were produced.

[13] The elevation of the imperial ladies is not mentioned in written documents but is evident from the coinage.

[14] C. Th. 1. 15. 1.

[15] Jerome [Hieronymus], Chronicon: "The Vicennalia of Constantine held in Nicomedia, and proclaimed at Rome in the following year."

[16] Codex Theodosianus records his presence in Nassetus for 17 September (C. Th. 11. 39. 1), and in Aquae for 19 October (C. Th. 7. 4. 1).

[17] Presence attested 3 February and 5 March; C. Th. 9. 3. 2; C. Th. 10. 4. 1.

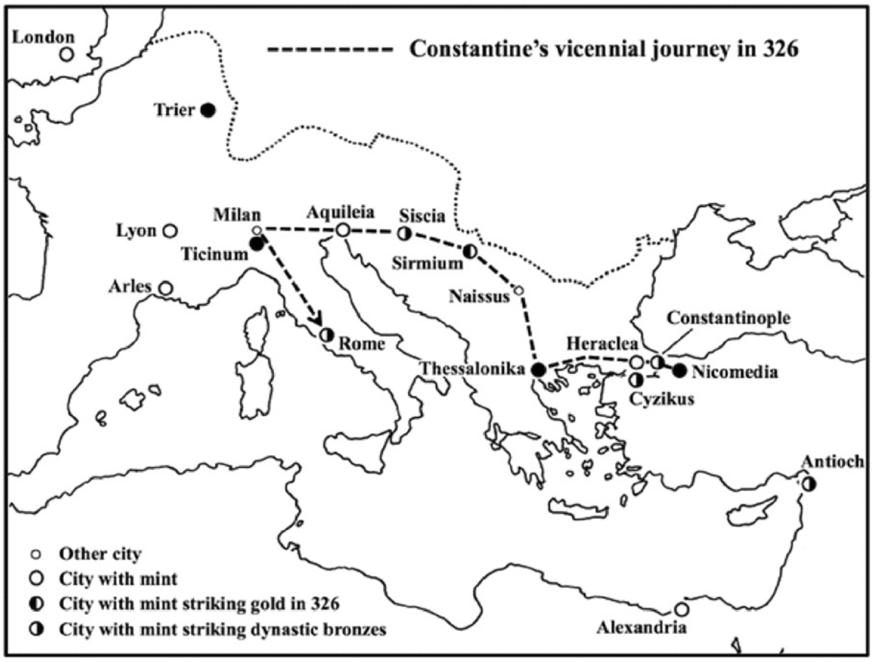


Fig. 2. Constantine's vicennial journey from Nicomedia to Rome in 326. The celebration solidi struck along the route are described in Appendix 1. The dynastic bronzes struck in Antioch and possibly those of Cyzikus pre-date the vicennial journey.

Сл. 2. Константиново путовање поводом двадесетогодишњице владања од Никомидије до Рима 326. Славски солиди постављени дуж пута описани су у Прилогу 1. Династичке бронзе израђене у Антиохији и евентуално оне из Цизикуса пре датума путовање поводом двадесетогодишњице

In connection with the Heraclea stay, Constantine visited nearby Constantinople. His presence there is attested on 8 March 326[18]. The present author has suggested that Constantine opened the new mint during his visit[19]. Although the city was not yet inaugurated, the first coins show that the name Constantinopolis was already in use.

Constantine continued west on the Via Egnatia, to Thessalonika. There is no written evidence preserved documenting Constantine's presence in Thessalonika at this time. However, a rich output of vicennial celebration issues[20] indicates that Constantine must have stayed for some time in the city before continuing his journey[21].

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[18] C. Th. 2. 10. 4.

[19] Ramskold 2011.

[20] Among others, Thessalonika RIC 131, 137, 140, 147, 148, 149. See Appendix 1.

[21] A stop in Thessalonika is recorded in Codex Theodosianus for the return journey, and since other stops on Constantine's return journey from Rome to Nicomedia coincide with the stops on the vicennial journey, one might postulate that Constantine travelled the same route via Thessalonika also on the outward vicennial journey.

Date	Source	Place	Remarks
325 25 July		Nicomedia	Vicennial gold and silver Dynastic bronze
11 August	C. Iust. 6. 21. 15	Nicomedia	
17 Sept	C. Th. 11. 39. 1	Nassetis	
19 Oct	C. Th. 7. 4. 1	Aquae	
326			
3 Feb 5 March	C. Th. 9. 3. 2. C. Th. 10. 4. 1	Heraclea	No vicennial issues
8 March	C. Th. 2. 10. 4.	Constantinople	Dynastic bronze
March/April	Coinage	Thessalonika	Vicennial gold and silver Dynastic bronze
18 April 22 May	C. Th. 9. 12. 2. C. Th. 9. 1. 5.	Sirmium	Vicennial gold, no silver No dynastic bronze
June	Coinage	Siscia	Dynastic bronze
6 July	C. Th. 9. 21. 3	Mediolanum	Vicennial gold, silver and bronze produced in nearby Ticinum
18 July	CIL 1, p. 268	Rome	Constantine's arrival Dynastic bronze
25 July	Hier. Chron. 2342, Chon. I, p. 232	Rome	Celebration of vicennalia
August or 27 Sept	Profectio Augusti	Rome	Departure of Constantine. Return journey begins.

Table 1. Constantine's route during the vicennial year.

Irrespective of the previous route, the roads inevitably took Constantine past his birthplace Naissus on his journey, although this is not recorded in any text. The next stop, around April - May, was Sirmium, as shown by the celebration issues (the written evidence is ambiguous)[22]. It is probable that his next stop was Siscia, 260 km NW of Sirmium on the Via Pannonia, the main road to Italy. Siscia struck an issue of dynastic bronzes, probably indicating a stop-over by Constantine.

Constantine travelled further west, probably passing Aquileia, but no vicennial coinage exists [23]. His presence in Mediolanum (modern Milan) is attested for early July[24]. During Constantine's reign, there was no mint in Mediolanum, so nearby Ticinum (modern Pavia) was given the task of producing the vicennial celebration pieces[25]. Ticinum is just under 30km south by road from Mediolanum.

Twelve days later, on 18 July 326, Constantine entered Rome[26]. His vicennial celebrations were to culminate a week later, on 25 July, exactly one

[22] Questionable evidence: C. Th. 9. 12. 2 of 18 April either 329 (Seeck) or 326 (Bruun); C. Th. 9. 1. 5 of 22 May either 320 (Seeck) or 326 (Bruun).

[23] The 1 April Aquileia entry C. Th. 9. 24. 1 and 4 April C. Th. 9. 8. 1 were dated by Seeck to 326 and by Bruun (1961) to 318.

[24] 6 July; C. Th. 9. 21. 3.

[25] RIC 192-197 include the standard gold pieces issued as part of the vicennial celebration donatives.

[26] 18 or possibly 21 July; CIL 1^2, p. 268. [fide Barnes 2011, p. 146].

year after the initial celebrations at Nicomedia. It is uncertain when Constantine departed Rome. Some modern authors give early or mid August, wheras Bruun stated 27 September[27].

The retourn journey was very slow, lasting ten months. Constantine retraced his steps: in late October his presence is attested in Mediolanum[28], two months later he is in Sirmium[29], in late February 327 he is in Thessalonika[30], in the early summer he is in Constantinople[31], and at the end of July he is back in Nicomedia[32].

THE VICENNIAL CELEBRATION ISSUES

It is proposed here that vicennial celebration issues in gold, silver and bronze were exclusively produced at the mints along Constantine's route[33]. The gold, silver and bronze types were all designed to promote the members of Constantine's family. The number of types was small, and they were repeated in mint after mint. All vicennial bronze issues were of the dynastic type.

The Travelling Mint

During the research that is presented in this paper, it became clear that every gold or silver type that could conceivably be connected to Constantine's vicennalia, appeared to have been produced at the court's location at the time. This finding agrees with the theory of the travelling mint, elaborated by Bruun some fifty years ago[34]. He stated: "The main theory developed in this study is that gold coining in the Constantinian Empire was closely connected with the court and with the Emperor. As a rule gold was struck at the temporary residence of the Emperor"[35]. The reason, albeit not clearly stated by Bruun, was that during Constantine's reign, most gold and silver was not struck for general circulation but as donatives, given out by the emperor or his representative to deserving individuals. For example, Bruun stated: "From the later part of 320 to the spring of 324, Sirmium was the capital of Constantine, and during all that time the Sirmian mint was the only one to issue gold except Trier"[36]. Between 318 and 326[37], Trier was the residence of Constantine's eldest son and heir-apparent, Crispus, to whom Constantine delegated his authority of striking gold

27 August: Odahl 2004, p. 207; Barnes 2011, p. 149. 27 Sept: Bruun 1961, p. 46.

28 23 October; C. Th. 4. 22. 1.

29 31 December; C. Th. 3. 32. 2.

30 27 February 327; C. Th. 11. 3. 2.

31 11 June; C. Th. 2. 24. 2.

32 30 July; C. Th. 12. 5. 1.

33 The best known gold and silver issues are described in Appendix 1.

34 Bruun 1961. The idea had been proposed earlier (Elmer 1930a), but Bruun's comprehensive study is fundamental.

35 Bruun 1961, p. 76.

36 Bruun 1966, p. 462.

37 Barnes 2011, p. 42.

and silver. In fact, in the period under discussion here, Trier was the only exception to the rule that precious metals were struck exclusively at the residence of the emperor[38]. Bruun's idea of "filial issues" struck far from the emperor's residence is mentioned and rejected in Appendix 2.

The theory of the travelling mint allows the dating of many gold and silver issues by correlating them to the emperor's travels . When the emperor arrived to a city with a mint, it began to strike gold and silver coinage under the court's supervision, and when he left the city, such minting stopped. Also the dynastic bronze series described herein were produced in this way. The regular bronze coinage seems not to have been affected by the court's visit.

It is important to note that in many provinces of the empire, there was never any gold or silver coins or donatives at all produced during Constantine's reign, and in other provinces, decades could pass between occasional production of gold and silver issues. From this fact alone, it is clear that gold and silver issues had quite another function than monetary use in trade, purchase, or other payments[39]. Numerous authors have discussed the donative character of many gold and silver issues from the reign of Constantine. We here take this idea further, and conclude that virtually all gold and probably also most silver struck under Constantine's sole reign (324-337) was donative in character, and especially so during the period 324-330. That is, the struck gold and silver was given by the emperor (or someone acting on his behalf) to individuals, as a reward or in exchange for services or loyalty paid to the emperor[40].

The Travelling Treasury

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38 The case of Antioch is discussed in Appendix 2.

39 For example Weiser 2010, p. 819: "Ausser Bronzemünzen wurden nur Goldmünzen hergestellt, die jedoch nicht Teil des üblichen Geldumlaufs waren, sondern als *donativa, Geschenke*, vom Kaiser an hohe Militärs und Würdenträger verteilt wurden." Also Vasic and Popovic (1975, p. 435) regarding the Sirmium hoard: "il est aisé de reconnaitre dans cet exceptionnel lot monétaire le résultat d'un déboursement de caractère officiel, plutot que le fruit d'une épargne personnelle ou d'une activité commerciale ou autre."

40 There is a marked discrepancy between the actual evidence from the minted gold - preserved amounts, types, and in particular known places of minting - and inferences that huge amounts of gold were minted for the payment of troops and others. For example, one author recently stated regarding the situation following on Constantine's victory in 324: "the conquest of the east gave Constantine access to the enormous metal reserves of the pagan temples there, which he promply and brutally converted into coin. This sudden influx of gold allowed Constantine to convert the solidus into a viable, empire-wide, standard currency." There is mention of "an ever-growing and ever more powerful gold coinage." However, there was no such thing. All gold was struck and distributed at the residence of the emperor. During the period under discussion here, there was no gold at all struck or distributed in any other part of the empire, except Trier. The hoards from, for example, Arras (pre-Constantine), Helleville (Constantinian), and Kaiseraugst (post-Constantine) show how the donatives were accumulated by the receiver. From treasures like those, it is clear that the struck gold and silver found in them was not primarily used as currency (monetary medium), in that it was not regularly changing hands, but was kept as part of the individual's or family's fortune. Statements that struck gold was a standard currency during this period lack factual basis. The present author sees Depeyrot's "A Stable New Gold Currency" (in Lenski 2006, pp. 239-240) as completely contrary to the numismatic evidence.

The Travelling Mint should perhaps be re-phrased The Travelling Treasury. In the vicennial gold and silver coins and medallions, there are consistent differences in engraving style between mints, just like in the bronze. Bruun stated that "in most cases the individual mints, also when striking gold, retain their particular style of portraiture, an indication that the mints remained stationary whereas the organisers or controllers were mobile"[41]. The travelling court must have included a movable treasury with sizeable amounts of gold and silver, but celators and presumably the other workers of a mint were locally employed and not moving with the court. The court must have included the highest officials for the supervision of the overall production of coinage and donatives, and most likely models and templates and perhaps artists were brought along. But there was not a mint, in the sense of a production unit, travelling with the court.

Each mint must have been responsible for storing and using the metals for the bronze coinage. Since the bronze included small amounts of silver, the mints may have had significant amounts of silver in storage. It is also possible that there was a deposit of gold bullion in the mint or in the hands of the local authorities, which could be requested by the court for use in the mint. But the main resource for precious metals used in the mints can only have been the imperial treasury. During Constantine's reign, there was a shortage of both gold and silver, and the treasury was under the strict control of the emperor. When deemed necessary, gold and silver was transferred from the treasury to a nearby mint in order to be struck into coins, medallions or other forms of donatives[42].

One may speculate on the reasons why Constantine kept the bulk of gold and silver in his treasury rather than distributing it to the various mints to be ready for production:

- There was no need to produce coins in advance because coin production was near instant. Modern studies have indicated that one celator could engrave many dies in a single day[43]. When the emperor arrived to a city with a mint, the process of striking gold and silver coinage could have begun immediately, under the court's supervision. Within days, large numbers of coins, medals and other donatives could have been available for distribution[44]. When the emperor - and the treasury - left the city, such minting was no longer needed or possible.
- There was a need for a direct link between the emperor and the recipient. Donatives were given out in the presence of the emperor. If given out in a city in a location far from the emperor, the link between giver and receiver would be weakened or lost.

[41] Bruun 1961, p. 24.

[42] Not just coins and medallions, but there are many silver bowls struck with the effigy of the emperor, at least sometimes using coin dies.

[43] Ongoing studies reported at Yahoo discussion group Moneta-L.

[44] Even extremely short-lived rulers produced a variety of coins, as shown by the usurpers Pacatianus (248), Regalianus (260), and Laelianus (269).

- It would have been risky to send large amounts of gold and silver over land for weeks or months to reach the receiving mint in a distant city in advance of the emperor's arrival.
- The intended arrival could be delayed or cancelled if external factors affected the itinerary of the emperor. It is therefore unlikely that donativa intended for distribution after his arrival were produced in advance. A change in itinerary would mean that they could not be used and instead would have to be melted down and the metal stored until it could be used on some later occasion.

To demonstrate how the travelling mint worked during Constantine's vicennial journey, a survey is given below in Appendix 1. The survey includes all gold and silver issues of which sufficient material is known to permit the interpretation that they were struck during the journey from Nicomedia to Rome. A fuller treatment of these issues and those of the return journey will be given separately.

THE DYNASTIC BRONZE SERIES

The dynastic bronze issues are presented here in chronological order, following Constantine's itinerary. The sequence should be read parallel to the description of Constantine's itinerary given above.

Antioch: The dynastic series was probably created in Antioch, in connection with Constantine's visit in early 325[45]. The concept was novel, and there is no direct precedence in any metal for any Roman emperor. The idea was very simple and straightforward: one side showing the head or bust of the imperial person, and the other side giving the name and title of that person. The message is unanmbiguous: these are the members of the ruling family. The dynastic intentions are strong and obvious.

The dynastic series was the first bronze issue struck in Antioch after the defeat of Licinius. During Licinius' final rule, Antioch struck in 8 officinae. Antioch produced two series of dynastic bronzes, one known from seven officinae (A, B, Γ, Δ, Є, S, Z; missing H), and one from eight officinae, including officina H. In the first series, RIC 52-56, the exergue on the reverse is empty whereas it carries a dot in the second series, RIC 57-62. Zschucke (2000) dated the first series to December 324, and the second series to the start of the vicennial celebrations, July 325. Whether or not Constantine visited Antioch in 324/325, Zschucke's July date for the second series would imply that this issue was struck in the absence of the emperor. There is no evidence indicating the order of the two series, or if they were even separate in time. The apparent absence of officina H in the first series may even be due to the smaller sample of this series relative to the second series[46].

The Antioch issues are by far the most numerous of all the dynastic bronze issues[47]. They are also unique in including, apart from Constantine and the three

45 See Appendix 2.

46 Officinae unknown to Bruun (1966) continue to surface. The author has seen RIC 53 off. B, RIC 57 off. Δ, and RIC 59 off. ϵ.

47 The author has seen over two hundred examples.

caesars, also the augustae Fausta and Helena[48]. The number of coins known for each imperial member varies markedly. The relative frequencies are, however, fairly consistent between the two issues. Examples for Constantine himself dominate, followed by those for the caesars Constantine and Constantius. Examples for Crispus are less common, and those for the two augustae are the least common. The relative frequencies are mirrored in the number of officinae employed for striking coins of the imperial members. Remarkably, only three officinae struck for Crispus (7 or 8 officinae struck for Constantine; at least 6 for Constantine caesar; 4 for Constantius caesar, 1 for Fausta and 1 for Helena). At this time, Crispus was at the height of his career, and this apparent anomaly remains unexplained[49].

Nicomedia: A small dynastic issue was struck in Nicomedia[50]. Zschucke (2000) assigned the issue to July 325, the beginning of Constantine's vicennial year. At least four of the six officinae were employed in the production, and although the issue is incompletely known, we may assume that coins for Constantine and all three caesars were produced[51]. The augustae were excluded from this and subsequent dynastic issues from every mint.

Cyzikus: The dynastic issue from Cyzikus (**Fig. 3**)[52] was dated by Zschucke (2000) to July 325. Cyzikus struck a rich dynastic series, today the third most common (after Antioch and Rome). At the time, the mint of Cyzikus employed six officinae[53], but the entire dynastic bronze issue was marked with officina ϵ. Interestingly, the first gold issue from Cyzikus after Constantine's take over was also struck exclusively in officina ϵ [54]. There is accordingly some possibility that the dynastic issue from Cyzikus precedes that from Antioch, in which case Cyzikus would have been the first to strike it. Speaking against this suggestion are the facts that the smallest busts for the younger caesars were struck in Antioch, and also that only Antioch produced dynastic bronzes for the augustae. A fact speaking for the early date is the absence of any gold or silver vicennial celebration issues from Cyzikus. Alternatively (assuming that

48 Of the specimens seen by the author, all 9 examples of Helena (RIC 61) are from off. B, and all 6 Fausta (RIC 62) are from off. A. The specimen listed by Bruun as RIC 62 off. Δ is likely to be a misread off. A, and RIC 56 is also likely a misread RIC 62 off. A. This would imply that only the series with a dot included the two augustae, and that a single officina was employed for each lady.

49 Most interestingly, in the dynastic bronzes from Cyzikus, the same relative numbers occur, with examples for Crispus being much rarer than those for the other caesars.

50 Nicomedia RIC 98. Bruun described it from a single known specimen, from officina B, struck for Constantine, and dated it to 324-5. The author has seen three more examples, two from officina Δ and one from ϵ.

51 An example of Constantine caesar, unknown to Bruun (1966), is now known, sold on Ebay in February 2009. It is from officina Γ. The possible Crispus example in Table 2 is the "Heraclea" specimen in RIC (see below).

52 RIC 30-33, all struck in officina ϵ.

53 The number of officinae for Cyzikus in Bruun's (1966) Appendix II does not agree with the number in the coin lists either for this period or that under Licinius.

54 RIC 20-23. Note that this issue included the same anachronistic types as the first Constantinian gold issue in Antioch.



Fig 3. Dynastic bronzes from Cyzikus. A: for Constantine, RIC 30, CNG 85, lot 1215, 2.20g. B: for Crispus, RIC 31, Art Coins Roma 2, lot 380, 2.4g. C: for Constantine caesar, RIC 32, CNG 85, lot 1218, 2.35g. D; for Constantius caesar, RIC 33, Nemesis Coins website 2011, 1.8g. All have a PRD 16.3mm ± 0.5mm.

Сл. 3. Династичке бронзе из Кизика. А: За Константина, RIC 30, класична нумузматичка група 85, лот 1215. Б: за Криспа, кованица царске ковнице 31, римски новчић 2, лот 380. Ц, за Константина Цезара, кованица царске ковнице RIC 32, класична нумизматичка група 85, лот 1215. Д за Констанција Цезара, кованица царске ковнице RIC 33, Немезис Кованице

Constantine's visit to the city was in connection with the vicennalia), the extensive vicennial gold and silver output from nearby Nicomedia was sufficient to allow for donatives in Cyzikus as well.

The coins with Constantine show him wearing a laurel wreath, sometimes engraved to resemble a triple-row pearl diadem (**Fig 3A**)[55]. Also the wreaths of the caesars resemble pearl diadems but all are regarded here as laurel wreaths depicted in a local celator style[56].

Heraclea: Constantine's presence in Heraclea/Perinthus is attested for 3 February 326[57]. There is, however, no evidence that Heraclea struck a dynastic bronze issue. Bruun listed a single dynastic coin of Crispus, with the mint mark SMHA, as the sole example of the issue[58]. It is regarded here as highly questionable if this dynastic coin is in fact from Heraclea. The reading SMNA or SMNΔ of the mint mark is a possiblity, implying a misread Nicomedia example. No gold or silver issues from Heraclea can reasonably be associated with Constantine's vicennalia (see discussion under AU01 in Appendix 1). It appears that no vicennial commemoratives at all were struck at Heraclea.

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55 This was noted already by Bruun (1966, p. 648, note 30).

56 Likewise, the E9 busts listed in RIC for Cyzikus are regarded here as showing laurel wreaths, not pearl diadems, and the bust type should be corrected to B4. For RIC 63, 68, 69, Bruun himself noted: "Wreaths resembling pearl diadem".

57 C. Th. 9.3.2; 9.7.1., see Barnes 2011:146. Zschucke (2000) assigned the issue to February 326.

58 RIC 81, dated by Bruun 1966, p. 551 to 325-6.

Constantinople: A small dynastic bronze issue is known from Constantinople. Bruun (1966) knew only of a single coin for Constantine, and one or two for Constantine caesar. Several more examples are known today, including one struck for Constantius caesar[59].

Thessalonika: There is no written documentation of a visit by Constantine to Thessalonika during his vicennial year. However, on the basis of the gold coinage, Bruun made it highly likely that Constantine spent some time in Thessalonika in April 326 on his way from Nicomedia to Rome. Bruun was, however, unaware of the connection between the vicennial itinerary and the dynastic bronzes, and dated the latter to 325. Zschucke (2000) re-assigned the issue to April 326, a date followed here.

Thessalonika was striking in five officinae through almost all of Constantine's reign. However, Bruun (1966) knew only of dynastic coins from this mint marked SMTSA (RIC 141-144), i.e., from officina A. The gold and silver coins and multiples listed immediately after the bronze (RIC 145-152) are all marked SMTS, with no officina indicated. A second dynastic bronze type has now come to light, similarly lacking officina letter. A Constantine coin with mint mark SMTS was recently published[60]. Two further specimens, from different dies, appeared on the market in 2010 and 2012 and a Crispus specimen appeared in 2010[61]. Dynastic bronzes from Thessalonika are rare, with only about six examples in public collections listed by Bruun (1966), and a similar number of the officina marked type appearing on the market in the last decade. It is at present not possible to say if the two types represent two consequtive issues or variation within one issue. Such variation, with otherwise similar examples with and without officina mark, are known from many gold and silver issues, and again it is impossible to determine the significance.

The lack of officina indication in a bronze issue is remarkable, and there are no comparable examples in the entire bronze coinage of Constantine. Also, the use of a single officina for the production of the dynastic bronzes in some mints (Cyzikus, off. ϵ; Thessalonika, off. A; Rome, off. A - see below) points to the special character of the issues. Both circumstances show that the production of the dynastic bronzes was governed by rules otherwise applied to the production of gold and silver issues. (**Fig. 4**.)

Siscia and Sirmium: A rare dynastic bronze issue is known from Siscia (RIC 189-192). It was described from one example each (all in Vienna) for the four male imperial members, plus one additional for Constantine caesar (in BNF, Paris)[62]. In addition, a considerably smaller example for Constantine

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[59] See examples figured by Ramskold 2011, fig. 1 and discussion pp. 126-128. Coins for Crispus can be expected to have have been struck as well. Bruun (1966, p. 571) dated the dynastic coins to 326-7. The issue was re-dated to March 326 by Zschucke (2000).

[60] Harlick 2007, Figure 8.

[61] 2010: CNG electronic sale 243, lot 488; 2012: internet auction Aukcije, Croatia; Crispus: Hirsch Auktion 266, lot 2231.

[62] The author has seen three more Siscia dynastic bronze examples, two for Constantine (one in a private collection and one in the National Museum in Zagreb, Croatia) and one for Constantius caesar (in the National Museum in Zagreb, Croatia). One Constantine example is from officina B, and the Constantius caesar example is from officina Γ. Neither of these



Fig. 4. Dynastic bronzes from Thessalonika. Examples with and without officina letter. A and B: for Constantine, officina A, RIC 141. C and D: for Constantine, no officina letter, not in RIC. E: for Crispus, officina A, RIC 142. F: for Crispus, no officina letter, not in RIC. A-F: Private collections. Private collections. All have a PRD of 16.0mm ± 0.5mm. B: 2.41g, max diameter 18.8mm, C: 2.58g, D: 2.05g, E: 1.89g. F: 1.97g.

Сл. 4. Династичке бронзе из Солуна. Примери са и без ознаке ковнице. А и Б: за Константина, ковница А, RIC 141. Ц и Д: за Константина, нема ознаке ковнице, није кованица царске ковнице. Е: за Криспа, ковница А, кованица царске ковнице 142. Ф: за Криспа, нема ознаке ковнице, није кованица царске ковнице. RIC. A-F: Приватна колекција

caesar was mentioned (in BNF, Paris). Maurice was of the opinion that two denominations were represented[63]. Unfortunately, the small Paris specimen cannot be located[64]. Other reports of fractions of the dynastic bronze issues have all proven to be based on contemporary imitations (see below), and also the "fraction" reported for Siscia is regarded here as unofficial.

Constantine stayed in Sirmium in April and May 326 on his way to Rome[65]. Siscia is 260 km NW of Sirmium, on the Via Pannonia, the main road to Italy. It is possible that Constantine let Siscia strike the dynastic bronzes, whereas the gold and silver was struck at the imperial residence in Sirmium.

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officinae were reported in RIC as striking the dynastic bronzes. It now appears possible that all five officinae in Siscia were employed to produce the dynastic bronze issue.

63 Maurice 2 (1911), p. 353. The Crispus example figured by Maurice, pl. 10, fig. 17, is of normal module.

64 M. Dominique Hollard, pers. com. 8 Sept 2011: "nous n'avons pas de *nummi* au types *RIC* 190 et 191 pour l'atelier de Siscia." A further search by the author in the BNF in October 2011 failed to uncover the missing coins.

65 18 April: C. Th. 9. 12. 2; 22 May: C. Th. 9. 1. 5.

None of the gold and silver issues recorded for Siscia in RIC were struck on the vicennial journey to Rome[66]. Bruun (1966) dated the dynastic bronze issue to 325, unaware of the connection to the vicennial itinerary. Zschucke (2000) assigned the Siscia dynastic issue to May 326, a date followed here.

Ticinum: There are no dynastic bronze coins recorded from Ticinum in RIC. The last bronze issue with coins for Fausta has the mint mark P crescent T. Hill and Kent[67] listed a dynastic bronze for Constantine with this mint mark. The issue is now known to include Crispus and Constantine caesar[68]. Examples for Constantius caesar must also have been struck.

Rome: The list in RIC, nos 281-286, of dynastic coins from Rome is confusing and based on a mix of two official issues with an added contemporary, unofficial imitation. The untangling of these issues is central to this paper. First it is necessary to identify and remove the contemporary imitation from the list.

Fractions and imitations. Contrary to Bruun and Zschucke [69] the author sees no evidence for more than one denomination of the dynastic issues of any mint. All examples cited and figured by Bruun and Zschucke as fractions show every characteristic of being unofficial, contemporary imitations. These characteristics include "barbarous" celator style, misengraved letters, frequent mules, inconsistent bust types, mirrored busts, random obverse-reverse alignment, scattered size and weight, and poor quality of metal. The same characteristics are seen in other imitations of the time[70]. The majority of these dynastic bronze imitations copy Trier[71], and most of the the remainder copy Rome. The identification and elimination of these contemporary copies from the official issues is as important as the identification of modern forgeries.

A fairly large number of ancient imitations of dynastic coins are known. The Nether Compton Hoard from the UK included twenty official and unofficial dynastic coins, all figured by Harlick (2007). The hoard has a closing date of 335-340. Only two of the dynastic coins in the hoard may be regarded as official. Both are Trier RIC 484, officina S. All the eighteen remaining examples show varying degrees of unofficial characteristica, and all were regarded by Harlick as contemporary imitations. The author agrees with Harlick's conclusion. According to Harlick, thirteen of the coins imitate Trier, four imitate Rome, and one is uncertain (but see below).

Zschucke (2000, 2002) figured all together eighteen dynastic coins with Trier mint marks. Only three of these were described as "Barbarisierte Schauquinare"[72]. However, only the full-size examples are accepted here as

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66 But many were struck on the return journey, as will be detailed elsewhere.

67 Late Roman Bronze Coinage, p. 13, no. 480.

68 Crispus: Smith 1986; Harlick 2007. A further Crispus example and one of Constantine caesar are in the Gabinetto Numismatico e Medagliere, Milan. Zschucke (2000) dated the issue to June 326.

69 Bruun 1966, p. 329 (Rome); p. 447 (Siscia). Zschucke 2002, p. 42 (Trier).

70 Bastien 1985; Vasíc 1978, Alföldi 1961, Ferrando 2010, figs. 29-33.

71 30 out of 45 dynastic bronze imitations studied by the author copy Trier.

72 Zschucke 2000, nos. 11-13.

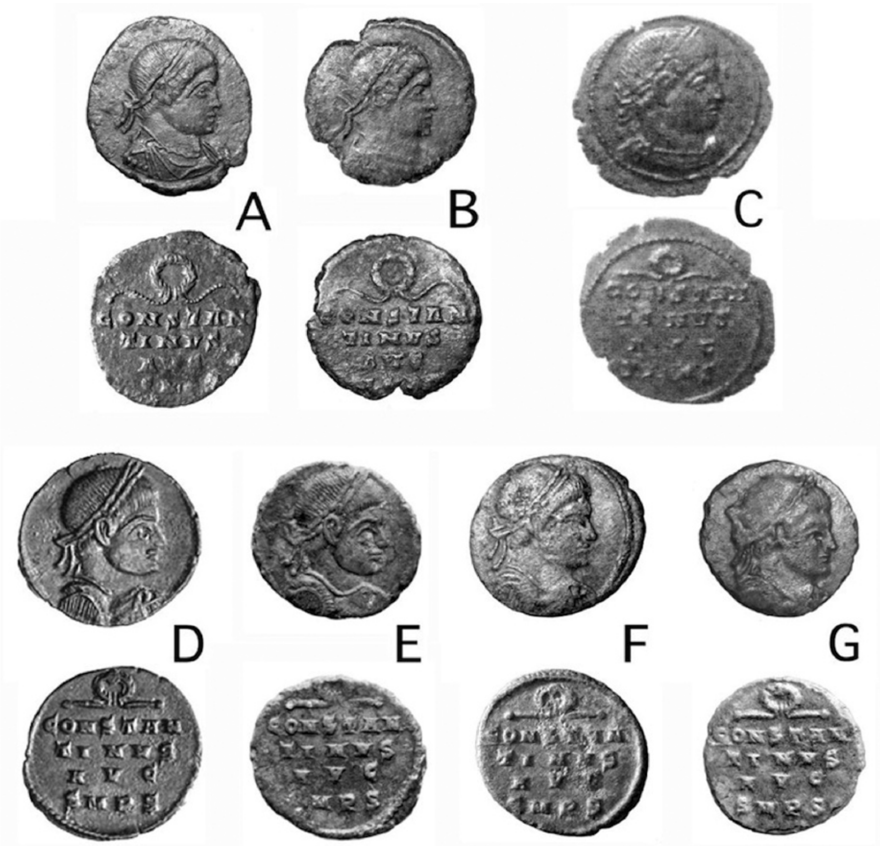


Fig 5. Unofficial copies of dynastic bronzes, imitating Rome. All are struck in the name of Constantine, mint mark SMRS. A, B: Two examples with die matched obverses and reverses. C: Specimen of Harlick (2007), fig 19. D-G: Four examples with die matched obverses and reverses. Maximum diameter and weight: A, 15.7mm, 1.33g. B, 15.0mm, 1.91g. C, 18mm, 1.49g. D, c. 16mm, weight unknown. E, c. 15.5mm, weight unknown. F, 15.8mm, 1.54g. G, 14.4mm, 1.01g (deeply corroded).

Сл. 5. Незваничне копије династичких бронзи, имитирајући Рим. Сви су израђени у име Константина, ознака ковнице СМРС, Б: Два примера са усклађеним калупима аверса и реверса. Ц: Примерак Харлика (2007), слика 19. Д-Г: Четири примера са усклађеним калупима аверса и реверса. Максимални пречник и тежина: 15.7мм, 1.33г. Б, 15.0 мм, 1.91г. Ц, 18мм, 1.49г. Д, ц. 16мм, тежина непозната. Е, ц. 15.5мм, тежина непозната. Ф, 15.8мм, 1.54г. Г 14.4мм, 1.01г (веома кородиран)

official, and all the smaller examples are regarded as imitations[73]. Other contemporary imitations of the dynastic series include two examples with the mint mark PLG[74], a mint not issuing dynastic bronzes, and probably the Siscia examples discussed above.

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[73] Official: Schaudenare 1-4. Unofficial: Schauquinare 5-10, plus nos. 11-13 recognised by Zschucke as unofficial.

[74] One strongly unofficial "Lugdunum" specimen examined by the author has the

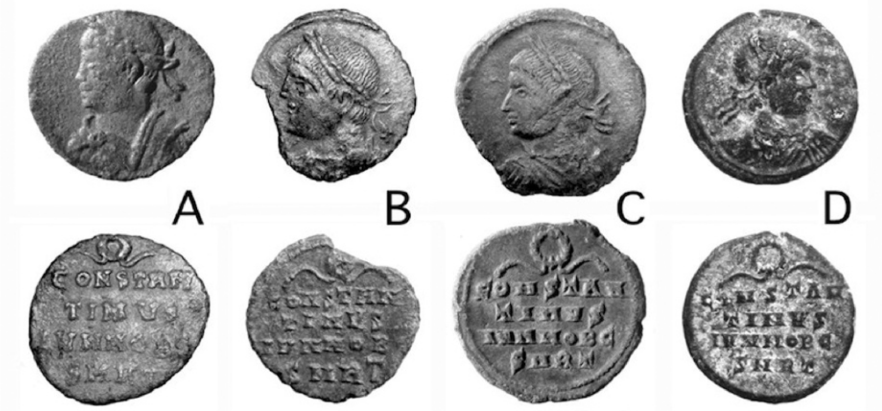


Fig 6. Unofficial copies of dynastic bronzes, imitating Rome. All struck in the name of Constantine caesar, mint mark SMRT. All obverses and reverses are from different dies. A-C: Bust facing left; D: bust facing right. C: Obverse and reverse die match with specimen of Harlick (2007), fig 27, and the specimen at http://esty.ancients.info/imit/imitconstantine.html. D: Reverse die match with specimen of Harlick (2007), fig 26. The latter's obverse die is different but also facing right. A-D: private should be collection. Maximum diameter and weight: A, 15.7mm, 1.50g. B, 14.8mm, 1.28g. C, 16.8mm, 2.06g. D, 14.4mm, 1.54g.

Сл. 6. Незваничне копије династичке бронзе, имитирајући Рим. Сви су израђени у име Константина Цезара, ознака ковнице СМРТ. Сви аверси и реверси са са различитих калупа. А-Ц: Биста окренута лево Д: Биста окренута право. Ц: Калупи аверса и реверса се поклапају са примерком из Харлика (2007), сл 27 и Ести веб примерак. Д: Калуп реверса поклапа се са примерком из Харлика (2007), слика 26. Калу аверса потоњег је другачији, али такође се подудара.Д: приватна збирка. Максимални пречник и тежина:, 15.7мм, 1.50г. Б, 14.8мм, 1.28г. Ц, 16.8мм, 2.06г. Д, 14.4мм, 1.54г

Turning to imitations of dynastic bronzes struck at the mint of Rome, all examples known to the author copy either Constantine or Constantine caesar, with no examples for Crispus or Constantius. The copies were produced in large numbers from relatively few dies. The seven examples known to the author for Constantine were struck from only three pairs of dies (**Fig. 5**). The style is typical of western imitations, particularly those copying coins from the mint of Trier.

Examples copying Constantine caesar coins are fairly common. Of Harlick's five Rome mint copies, four were for Constantine caesar and only one for Constantine[75]. Many others are known, and a selection is illustrated here (**Fig. 6**). The reverse legend is invariably CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C,

legend CONSTAN/TINVS/AVG and mint mark PLG, another has PLG dot, with legend CONSTANI/TINVSI/CAFSAR.

[75] Harlick identified his Fig. 19 as Constantine, Rome mint, and Figs 26, 27 and 32 as Constantine caesar, Rome mint. Also his Fig. 31, questionably assigned by him to Constantine caesar, with illegible mint mark, is here also regarded as a Rome mint copy. The legend is clearly a blundered version of CONSTAN/TINVS/IVN NOB C, a legend only struck at the mint of Rome.

whether blundered and irregular, never CONSTANTINVS CAESAR. Also, the reverse symbol is invariably a wreath, never a star. It is clear that the model was RIC 282, not RIC 285.

Rome RIC 283 can now be evaluated with some confidence. It was based on a single example in the British Museum. In spite of repeated searches of the collections, the author has been unable to locate the specimen. Bruun gave the diameter as 12 mm, and regarded it as a "fractional denomination, probably the half of the full-weight coins"[76]. The reverse legend of RIC 283 has an aberrant break, reading CONSTA/NTINVS /IVN NOB C. The symbol is a wreath, and the mint mark SMRT. Although no exact match to this coin has been found, all small-size Constantine caesar dynastic bronzes seen by the author are imitations. Bruun's description, especially the size and legend, clearly indicates that RIC 283 can only be an unofficial contemporary copy. Accordingly, RIC Rome 283 is here excluded from the regular issues of the mint of Rome.

In order to further untangle the mixture of issues listed as RIC Rome 281-286, an analysis of the reverse legends and symbols must be undertaken.

Dynastic bronze coins: the legends

From Antioch to Ticinum, all mints used the same legends and symbols for the dynastic coins, as shown in Table 2 (the imperial ladies were represented at Antioch only and are omitted from the list).

Legend	Symbol	Anti	Nico	Cyzi	Cons	Thes	Sisc	Tici
CONSTAN/TINVS/AVG	wreath	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
CRISPVS/CAESAR	star	X	?	X	-	X	X	X
CONSTAN/TINVS/CAESAR	star	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
CONSTAN/TIVS/CAESAR	star	X	-	X	X	X	X	-

Table 2. Distribution of the dynastic bronzes, excluding Rome. Known specimens struck for Constantine and the three caesars are indicated by an X. Most likely the dynastic bronzes were struck for all four imperial members in all seven mints, and future discoveries will likely fill in the remaining gaps.

The dynastic issue consisting of Rome RIC 281, 282, and 284 differs from issues from other mints in both legends and symbols. However, before we discuss this issue, the two remaining RIC entries for Rome dynastic bronzes, RIC 285 and 286, must be examined.

RIC 285 has the reverse legend CONSTAN/TINVS/CAESAR, with a star above. It is thus similar to the dynastic bronzes from the other seven mints (Table 2). Bruun stated "Officina letter recorded as A" [77], but gave it as S in the

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[76] Bruun 1966, footnote 283. The nine contemporary imitations of Rome dynastic bronzes studied in detail by the author range from 13-16 mm in diameter with a median of 14mm. Five are imitations of RIC 281, and five imitate RIC 282. None imitate RIC 284-286. The heaviest imitation weighs 2.06g, the lightest 1.01g. Weight control was slack because one example of 1.33g is die matched with another of 1.91g, and one of 1.54g is die matched with one of 1.01g. All examples are corroded with weight loss, but the relative weights are of significance.

[77] 1966, note to Rome 285.



Fig 7. Four specimens of the SMRA dynastic bronze issue from Rome. As yet, only examples for Crispus (A) and Constantine caesar (B-D) are known. A: Private collection, diameter 18.0mm, weight 1.94g. B: Original of RIC Rome 285, BM B2285 ,weight 1.98g. C: Private collection, diameter 17.5mm, weight 2.32g. D: Specimen in Castelvecchio zu Verona (see text for reference), diameter and weight unknown.

Сл. 7. Четири примерка СМРА династичке бронзе израђене у Риму. За сада, једино примери за Криспа (А) и Константина Цезара (Б-Д) су познати.: Приватна колекција, пречника 18.0мм, тежина 1.94г. Б: Оригинал кованица царске ковнице Рима 285, БМ Б2285. Ц: Приватна колекција, пречника 17.5мм, тежина 2.32г. Д: Узорак у Кастелвекију у Верони (види текст за референцу), пречник и тежина непознати

table. This specimen (BM B2285) has been examined by the present author, and the reading A is correct (Fig. 7B). RIC 285 is now known from two further examples, confirming the mintmark SMRA. One recently came to light on the commercial market (Fig. 7C). The other example is located in Verona (Fig. 7D) [78]. Crucial for the ideas presented in this paper, a specimen of Crispus with the same mintmark was recently discovered (Figs 1 and 7A). The Crispus example is of the type known from all the other mints: anepigraphic obverse with bust B4 l., and reverse with legend CRISPVS/CAESAR, with star above. The mint mark is SMRA. (**Fig 7**)

It is now clear that the "standard" type of dynastic bronzes were issued also at Rome. The legends and symbols are the same as at all seven of the other mints striking dynastic bronzes. This issue from Rome is exceedingly rare, known now from three Constantine caesar, one Crispus, and possibly one or two Constantius caesar (if the Paris BNF specimens did exist and were of this type). The presence of Crispus in the SMRA issue proves that this issue was struck before his fall. The author proposes that Rome struck a full issue, and that coins of Constantine and Constantius caesar bearing the mint mark SMRA are awaiting discovery.

The dynastic bronzes are regarded here as celebration issues that were struck during the emperor's visit to the issuing city. There is accordingly only one reasonable explanation for the dynastic coins from the mint of Rome: when Constantine and the imperial court arrived in Rome, the mint began to produce a dynastic issue of the exact same type as that produced at each of the preced-

78 Schmidt-Dick 1995, figure 16831.

ing stops along the imperial route. The new mint mark SMRA was introduced, where the officina designated A indicates an exception from the normal production, which was taking place in the four officinae P, S, T and Q.

Before we draw any conclusions from the evidence of the SMRA issue, we need to consider what has been known about the fate of Crispus:

Dating the fall of Crispus

The ancient sources have very little to say about the death of Crispus. The date is indicated by Eusebius, as edited by Jerome:

276th Olympiad

19 *d* Crispus, the son of Constantine, and Licinius junior, the son of Constantia, the sister of Constantine, and of Licinius, are very cruelly killed.

20 *e* The Vicennalia of Constantine held in Nicomedia, and proclaimed at Rome in the following year.

f Until this point Eusebius Pamphili, companion to the martyrs, writes this history, to which we ourselves have appended these things following.

It is most interesting to note that Eusebius stopped writing the Chronicles at the end of the vicennalia. The death of Fausta is not mentioned, and perhaps Eusebius was unable to write down the terrible events in Rome. Jerome, who continued the Chronicles some 55 years later, says that the caesars were killed "in the ninth year of their reign", indicating a date before 1 March 326.

Long after the events, Zosimus described them as follows:

But when he [Constantine] came to Rome, he was filled with pride and arrogance. He resolved to begin his impious actions at home. For he put to death his son Crispus, stiled (as I mentioned) Caesar, on suspicion of debauching his mother-in-law Fausta, without any regard to the ties of nature. And when his own mother Helena expressed much sorrow for this atrocity, lamenting the young man's death with great bitterness, Constantine under pretence of comforting her, applied a remedy worse than the disease. For causing a bath to be heated to an extraordinary degree, he shut up Fausta in it, and a short time after took her out dead.

Modern authors have suggested various dates for the death of Crispus. Some have taken Zosimus' account as factual. For example, Baldwin (1921) stated: "Maurice, however, quotes Zosimus, Historiae II, 29, to confirm the fact that Constantine ordered the death of Crispus during his stay in Rome. As he arrived there on July 21 and did not leave until September, Maurice concludes that the death of Crispus took place in July or August, 326."

Bruun (1966:71 note 10) stated: "Both Zosimos (ii. 29) and Porphyrios date the death of Crispus to Constantine's stay in Rome and this appears possible, though a slightly later date seems more probable."

More recently, Barnes (2011:146-147) stated, without revealing the reasons for the date: "Constantine tried and executed Crispus in North Italy while he was en route to Rome to celebrate his vicennalia in July 326". "His downfall and death occurred between early April and Early May".

Implications of the SMRA dynastic issue

The implication of the composition of the SMRA dynastic issue described herein is that Crispus was still unaffected by the coming tragedy when Constantine arrived in Rome around 18 July 326. The rarity of this issue can be taken to indicate that the fall of Crispus came very quickly after 18 July. The present author therefore proposes that the tragedy of Crispus' demise took place early during Constantine's vicennalian celebrations in Rome. The date is accordingly late July 326.

A date towards the end of Constantine's stay is contradicted by the AR02 issue of siliquae described in Appendix 1. This was produced after the fall of Crispus. Of the over 20 examples seen by the author, almost all are from different dies. This shows that it was a sizeable issue, the production of which must have occupied some length of time. This donative issue must be dated sufficiently long before Constantine's departure from Rome (when production ceased) to allow for its production and distribution.

It remains to date the second issue of dynastic bronzes from Rome.

The SMRP issue

The rarity of the SMRA dynastic issue contrasts with the other issue from Rome, RIC 281, 282 and 284. This is here called the SMRP issue. In contrast to the SMRA issue, it was produced in all four officinae (P, S, T, Q). It is the most common dynastic issue after the ones struck at Antioch. There are over 90 SMRP dynastic coins from Rome known to the author, roughly half struck for Constantine, and the other half equally divided between Constantine caesar and Constantius caesar. The absence of Crispus makes it certain that this issue was struck after his fall.

The SMRP issue is unique among the dynastic bronzes in the following:

1) the use of a wreath instead of a star for the caesars,
2) the different legends for the caesars,
3) the absence of Crispus,
4) Constantine is shown in bust B4 rather than B1, and most importantly,
5) Constantine wears a rosette-diadem in its finally established form.

One could hypothesise that during Constantine's 326 visit, the mint of Rome would first have produced a normal dynastic issue (SMRA), and that after the incrimination of Crispus, a second radically different issue was designed and produced. This hypothesis is falsified by the rosette-diadem worn by Constantine. As is indicated here and will be shown in detail elsewhere, the rosette-diadem was not a vicennial invention, but the end result of some three years of development. This important detail of iconography is incompatible with a 326 date (see below). (**Fig 8**)

RIC	Obverse legend	Symbol	Officinae	Status herein
281	CONSTAN/TINVS/AVG	wreath	P, S	Official
282	CONSTAN/TINVS/IVN NOB C	wreath	T	Official
283	CONSTA/NTINVS/IVN NOB C	wreath	T	Contemporary imitation
284	CONSTAN/TIVS/NOB CAES	wreath	Q	Official

Table 3. The SMRP issue of dynastic bronzes from Rome.

The question then arises: when was the second dynastic issue Rome struck ? And why? To answer these questions it is necessary to briefly survey the evolution of Constantine's diadem.

Constantine's diadem - key to chronology

Many authors have commented on the significance of Constantine's diadem, and some have attempted to follow its development. However, no coherent picture has emerged, mainly due to lack of consideration of how Constantinian gold and silver was produced[79].

Bruun's suggestion that the plain diadem was introduced already in 324 was refuted by Bastien[80]. However, due to incorrect datings in RIC, Bastien could not realize that the plain diadem was the only type that existed during Constantine's vicennalia. All of the exceptions cited by Bastien as showing Constantine wearing a rosette-diadem during the vicennalia are regarded here as misdated[81].

Delbrueck presented detailed evidence that the introduction of the plain diadem coincided with Constantine's vicennalia[82]. Alföldi suggested that Constantine's first official use of the diadem was on the opening of the vicennial celebrations.[83] This could be correct, but the Antioch silver types described in Appendix 1 seem to indicate that the plain diadem was introduced on coinage six months earlier. There are no gold or silver issues demonstrably later than July 325 that show Constantine wearing a laurel wreath. From the

79 Alföldi (1963: 104) stated that the plain diadem was introduced in Sirmium. This is contradicted by the evidence presented herein. She also stated that the second type of diadem was the jeweled type (mixing the bejeweled type with the early rosette-type), thus disregarding the hatched and pearl-bordered types. We reject Alföldi's reasoning (1963, pp. 90 ff.) because it lacks any connection between the places of production and Constantine's presence.

80 Bastien 1992, pp. 156-159, 165-16.

81 Bastien 1992, p. 158. Rome RIC 279 is re-dated here to 330, Rome RIC 281 is re-dated here to 328-9; the Heraclea bronze issues RIC 69-98 mix coins from different issues due to repeated mint marks lumped together by Bruun and Heraclea RIC 70-73 should be re-dated to 327; and finally Constantinople RIC 2 is re-dated here to 327 at the earliest.

82 Delbrueck 1933.

83 Alföldi 1963, p. 93.



Fig 8. The SMRP issue from Rome. A, for Constantine, off. P, B, for Constantine, off. S. C, for Constantine caesar, off. T,. D, for Constantius caesar, off. Q, A-D; A: 2.81g, B: 2.72g, C: 2.35g, D: 2.64g. PRD 16.7mm ± 0.5mm. private collection.

Сл. 8.СМРП издање из Рима., За Константина, ковница П. Б, за Константина, ковница С. Ц, за Константина Цезара, ковница Т. Д, за КонстанцијаЦезара, ковница Q, А-Д приватна колекција

beginning of the vicennalia, he never again used a laurel wreath on a gold or silver issue (there are exceptions in the bronze coinage, in mints far away from the court).

The plain diadem worn by Constantine evolved through a number of stages terminating in the fully developed rosette-diadem. Each of these stages will be described elsewhere[84]. There were no changes in Constantine's diadem during the vicennial journey but the first change occured in Rome and was followed by several on the return journey. Since Constantine was moving from place to place during the time, the changes in the diadem can be plotted against his route. The result is striking and is a cornerstone of the research of which one part is presented in this paper. One may note that only Constantine himself is shown wearing the ornamented diadems and the rosette-diadem. Until the death of Constantine, the caesars were shown using a plain diadem, or in a few instances a hatched[85] or pearl-bordered diadem, but never one with jewels.

We can now return to the dynastic bronze issues from Rome. RIC 281 shows Constantine wearing the fully developed rosette-diadem. Since that type is proposed here to have been developed only after Constantine's return

[84] Briefly: in the vicennial issues, Constantine carries a plain diadem. It is never hatched, or with pearl-borders. The first use of the pearl-bordered diadem is in Rome, in the silver issue described in Appendix 1, struck after the demise of Crispus. The first use of the hatched diadem appears to have been in Ticinum, according to a single known example for Constantine caesar (Gorny & Mosch 138**,** lot 2436).

[85] A single Crispus coin shows a hatched diadem (Nicomedia RIC 110; NAC 23, lot 1685 and NAC 54, lot 619). Thirteen other examples of RIC 110 all show a plain diadem, and a style consistent with the other portraits of the issue. The Crispus coin with hatched diadem deviates strongly in style, and it is here regarded as a modern forgery. It is concluded that there are no hatched diadems on genuine Crispus coins, and that the introduction of the hatched diadem post-dates the fall of Crispus.

to Nicomedia in mid-327, the dynastic bronze issue cannot be earlier than that date. Since dynastic bronzes were previously struck at Constantine's visits to the issuing cities, it is likely that this was the case also with this Rome issue. The answer to the questions of when and why the SMRP issue was produced may be as simple as it is consistent with the numismatic evidence: it was probably struck on Constantine's visit to Rome in connection with the burial of his mother Helena in the mausoleum at Rome[86].

APPENDIX 1: VICENNIAL PRECIOUS METAL ISSUES

The gold and silver issues struck during Constantine's vicennial journey have not until now been described as a coherent group[87]. The identification of the vicennial issues is based on the following basic criteria:

- The issue must include Constantius caesar. He was elevated to caesar on 8 November 324. This gives a *terminus post quem* for coins issued in his name.
- The issue must include Crispus. The date of Crispus' death has hitherto not been precisely established, but most scholars have arrived at a date near Constantine's vicennial celebrations in Rome during July and August. The presence of Crispus in coin issues demonstrades an *terminus ante quem* before mid-326.
- The issue must be possible to recognize as such, i.e. include all male members of the imperial college, and show a common pattern enabling us to recognise the types as being part of a single issue.

These three criteria permit the identification of the gold and silver issues described herein. Any issue including coins for both Constantius caesar and Crispus can only date from the interval November 324 - July 326. A survey of all such issues shows that the overwhelming majority are of a certain composition, known from a series of mints situated along the route from Nicomedia to Rome[88]. The iconography is uniform, with all male imperial members wearing a plain diadem.

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[86] This will be elaborated on elsewhere. Suffice here to say that on the presently available numismatic evidence, the most probable interpretation is that Helena died in late 328/ early 329, while Constantine was in Trier.

[87] When Patrick Bruun compiled RIC VII some fifty years ago, the scarcity of the material did not permit a study of the type undertaken here. Since then, the material has increased exponentially, and many new types have come to light. Most have appeared on the commercial market, and for gold and silver, the information used herein has largely been taken from some 2,000 auction catalogues. Many gold and silver types, and almost all of bronze have been personally examined by the author. In addition to the material listed in RIC and other publications, the author has studied the collections of the numismatic cabinets in Berlin, Brussels, Budapest, Cambridge, London, Lyon, Milan, Munich, Oxford, Paris, St. Petersburg, Stockholm, Vienna, and Zagreb, plus several private collections.

[88] Some examples from Antioch also belong to these types, see Appendix 1 herein.

Moving to issues that include Constantius caesar but lack Crispus, thus datable to after mid-326, these also show consistent patterns in both composition and iconography, especially in the diadem. Only the first of these issues (Rome siliquae, see Fig. 18) is included here to show the change in composition and iconography; the subsequent development falls outside the scope of the present paper.

The arrangement described herein agrees entirely with Constantine's itinerary. It is suggested that each of the issues were struck during the stay of the court, to be used as donatives. To argue that the issues were struck without the presence of the court, implying production either before or after Constantine's known visits to the minting cities, one would need to explain why these types are only known from cities included in Constantine's vicennial itinerary. One would also need to explain the absence of these types from Rome. One would further need to explain the absence of Crispus in the silver issue from Rome, and in subsequent issues. Not the least, one would need to explain why Constantine would send large amounts of gold and silver to a series of cities to be minted there without him being present to give it out. This would be especially remarkable since Constantine is known to have visited these very cities repeatedly during 326 and 327. The circumstances were obviously different from the distant city of Trier (and possibly Antioch), to which it was practical and necessary for Constantine to delegate minting of precious metals.

GOLD SOLIDI: AU01 TYPES

There are certain issues of solidi, fulfilling the above three criteria, that were uniform at the mints where they were produced: Nicomedia, Thessalonika, Sirmium, Ticinum, and - with some variation – Trier. The issues are remarkable in several respects:

- The obverse carries no legend, only the head of the emperor or caesar.
- The head is turned upwards in „heavenly gaze".
- The head is adorned with a plain diadem.
- The reverse legend gives only the name and the rank.

The plain diadem used in these isses for Constantine and all three caesars is significant for the dating. This so because, as detailed above, the plain diadem turns out to be the only diadem used during the vicennial year, and it was abandoned by Constantine during the final vicennial celebrations in Rome.

We interpret these issues to indicate that on his journey from Nicomedia to Rome, Constantine's four main temporary residences were Nicomedia, Thessalonia, Sirmium, and Ticinum. At each of these, the same series of gold donatives was produced. These were struck at 72 to a Roman pound, and they are now described as solidi. The issue comprises five types, two struck in the name of Constantine I, and one each for the three caesars. This issue is called AU01 in this paper.

Nicomedia

The mint of Nicomedia was the first to issue the new types[89]. They are dated here to after the beginning of the vicennial celebrations, commencing in July 325. Constantine and the three caesars are all depicted similarly: head turned right, held in "heavenly gaze" posture, wearing a plain diadem. Constantine's head fills the flan, Crispus is depicted slightly smaller, and the caesars Constantine and Constantius smaller still. The portrait of Constantine is idealised, and the three caesars show no individually distinguishing features apart from size (Fig. 9. A-E).

The first Constantine reverse has the legend CONSTANTINVS AVG, and figures a Victoria seated on a throne, with a cornucopia on her left arm and holding a Victory with wreath in the right (RIC 70; Fig. 9A). The mint mark is SMN. This type was dated by Bruun to 324[90]. He stated that "it is not clear whether the gold series in question was initiated at Sirmium or at Thessalonika" and "Whether some of these coins were struck before Civil War II cannot be definitely established." The identification here of these types as vicennial celebration issues answers Bruun's questions.

The second reverse of Constantine also has the legend CONSTANTINVS AVG. It has two interlacing wreaths centrally, and the mint mark N at the base (RIC 108; Fig. 9B). Coins of the three caesars are identified by their name, CRISPVS CAESAR, CONSTANTINVS CAESAR, and CONSTANTIVS CAESAR. All show a winged Victory advancing left, holding a wreath and a palm branch, and all have the mint mark N (**Fig. 9**C-E).

Constantinopolis

Constantine set out for Rome in early 326, beginning his vicennial celebration tour. In March, Constantine was in Constantinople and opened the mint there with the production of the dynastic bronze issue, but no AU01 coins were struck. Bruun (1966) dated a number of other gold and silver issues to 326, namely RIC VII Constantinople 1-6. The date implies vicennial issues, so a scrutiny is necessary.

RIC 1: This type, termed aureus by Bruun (1966) due to its weight, is indeed a celebration issue showing Constantine in "heavenly gaze" and wearing a plain diadem. The reverse figures the emperor in a quadriga, throwing donatives to the people. There is no mint mark. The type was assigned by Bruun to Constantinople due to "the close resemblance of the execution of the reverses" of this type and the much later type mint marked CONS[91]. The latter issue, RIC 103-106, includes examples struck for Constans as caesar, and must therefore be dated to 336-7. Bruun's dates yield a gap of over 10 years between the two issues. In the view of the present author the similarities are only generic, and in no way indicate an assignment to Constantinople. Instead, the type may have

89 Nicomedia RIC 70, 108-113.

90 Bruun 1966, p. 53.

91 Bruun 1966, p. 563.

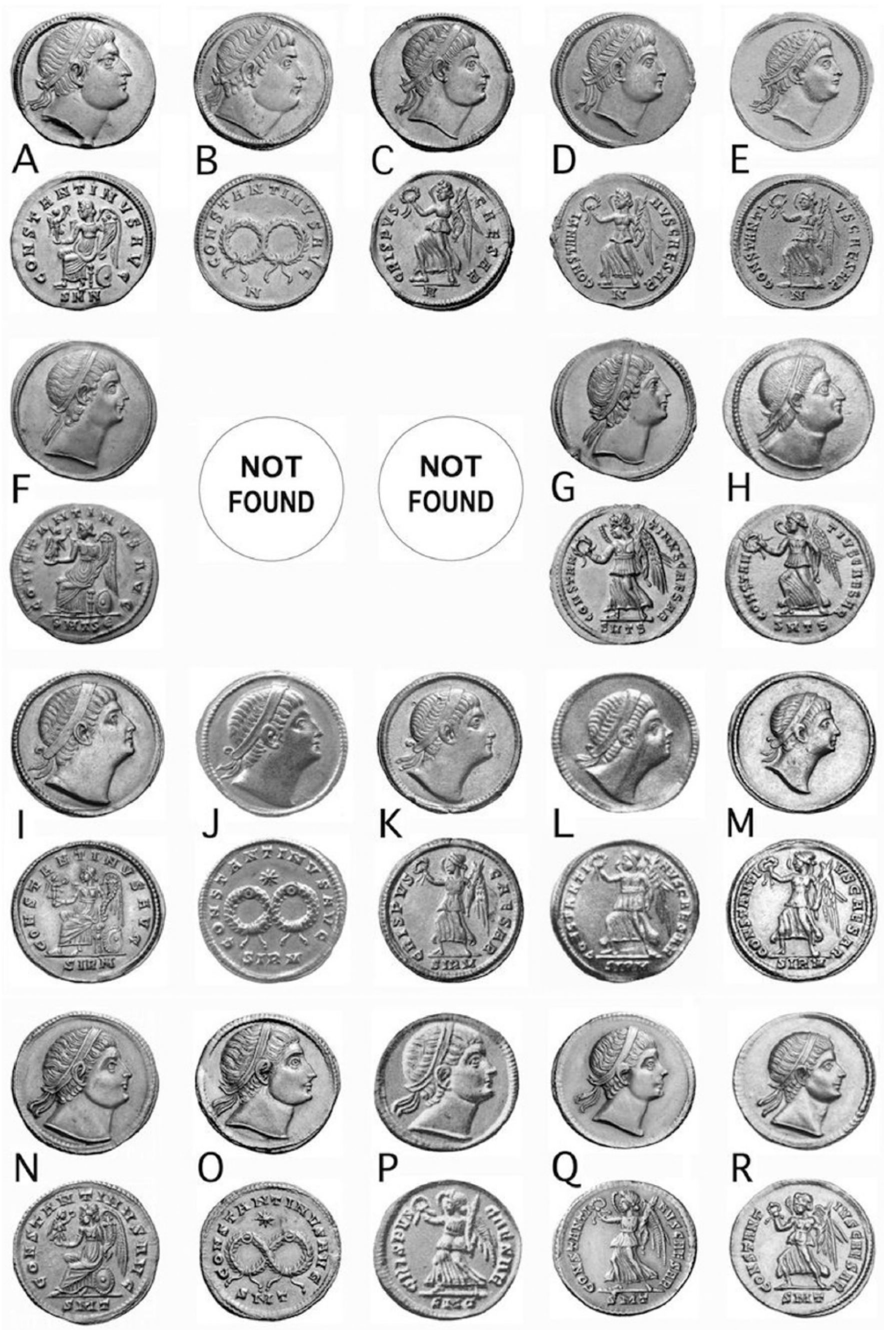

A
B
C
D
E
F
NOT FOUND
NOT FOUND
G
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Fig 9. Solidi of AU01 type from Nicomedia (A-E), Thessalonika (F-H), Sirmium (I-M), and Ticinum (N-R). Vertical rows from left: Constantine and seated Victoria; Constantine and interlacing wreaths; Crispus; Constantine caesar; Constantius caesar. Note the individual style of each mint, and the decreasing size of the heads from left to right. Nicomedia, A: RIC 70 - NAC 31:148. B: RIC 108 - NAC 52:609. C: RIC 110 - NAC 40:857. D: RIC 112 - NAC 31:152. E: RIC 113 - NAC 11:551. Thessalonika, F: RIC 131 - FORVM archive. G: RIC 147 - Lanz 145:150. H: RIC 148 - Triton 4:1094. Sirmium, I: RIC 56 - Triton 7:1047. J: RIC 62 - BM-AN00659719_001_l. K: RIC 63 - Lanz 138:919. L: RIC 64 - Alföldi 11:185. M: RIC 65 - Triton 14:844. Ticinum, N: RIC 179 - NAC 38:233. O: RIC 192 - Lanz 146:624. P: RIC 194 - Alföldi 11:181. Q: RIC 195 - Lanz 145:149. R: RIC 196-Goldberg 46:147. All X 1.1.

Сл. 9. Солиди од злата из Никомедије (А-Е), Солуна (Ф-Х), Сремске Митровице (И-М) и Павије (Н-Р). Вертикални редови слева: Константин и Викторија која седи, Константин и преплетени венци, Крисп, Константин Цезар; Констанције Цезар. Обратити пажњу на индивидуални стил сваке ковнице, и умањења величине главе с лева на десно. Никомедија, А: кованица царске ковнице 70 - НАЦ 31:148. Б: кованица царске ковнице 108 - НАЦ 52:609. Ц: кованица царске ковнице 110 - НАЦ 40:857. Д: кованица царске ковнице 112 - НАЦ 31:152. Е: кованица царске ковнице 113 - НАЦ 11:551. Солун, Ф: кованица царске ковнице 131 - ФОРУМ архива. Г: кованица царске ковнице 147 - Ланц 145:150. Х: кованица царске ковнице 148 - Тритон 4:1094. Сирмијум, ја: кованица царске ковнице 56 - Тритон 7:1047. Ј: кованица царске ковнице 62 - БМ-АН00659719_001_л. К: кованица царске ковнице 63 - Ланц 138:919. Л: кованица царске ковнице 64 - Алфолди 11:185. М: кованица царске ковнице 65 - Тритон 14:844. Тицинум, Н: кованица царске ковнице 179 - НАЦ 38:233. О: кованица царске ковнице 192 - Ланз 146:624. П: кованица царске ковнице 194 - Алфолди 11:181. П: кованица царске ковнице 195 - Ланц 145:149. Р: кованица царске ковнице 196-Голдберг 46:147. Све 1.1

been produced in Nicomedia, and Constantinople RIC 1 may even be the same as Nicomedia RIC 164 (redated herein to 325-6)[92].

Complicating the picture, some recent examples of RIC Constantinople 1 on the commercial market are die-linked to known Bulgarian forgeries from the Lipanoff Studio (**Fig. 10**). This is interesting because one of the former examples was apparently bought in 1955. If this provenance is correct, die transfer or some similar method must be invoked to explain the die links to the modern forgeries.

At present, there is unsufficient evidence for either dating this issue or determining the mint. The plain diadem does, however, strongly indicate a connection to the vicennalia. The style, admittedly an unreliable criterion, is closer to contemporary issues from Nicomedia than to the early types from Constantinople.

RIC 2 and RIC 3: these are solidi possibly belonging to a single issue. This was dated Bruun (1966) to 326, but the rosette-diadem of RIC 2[93] shows that the type belongs to a date after Constantine's return from the vicennial tour. RIC 3 is known only from an incomplete description, and Bruun himself did not know which bust type was used, giving E1 in the entry and E4 in the footnote. Bruun further questioned the presence of an obverse legend, saying that "consistency would require an uninscribed obv.". The present writer has searched the collection in the Hermitage in St Petersburg but was unable to locate this example[94]. In conclusion, nothing certain can be said about this specimen.

92 Depeyrot 1995 re-assigned the "Constantinople" type to Ticinum, and rejected Nicomedia RIC 164. The Ticinum assignment, based on style, is difficult to accept.

93 For detailed images see Sotheby's 1996-03-07, lot 215.

94 The author was kindly assisted by Dr. Vera Guruleva at the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg on 22-23 March 2011.

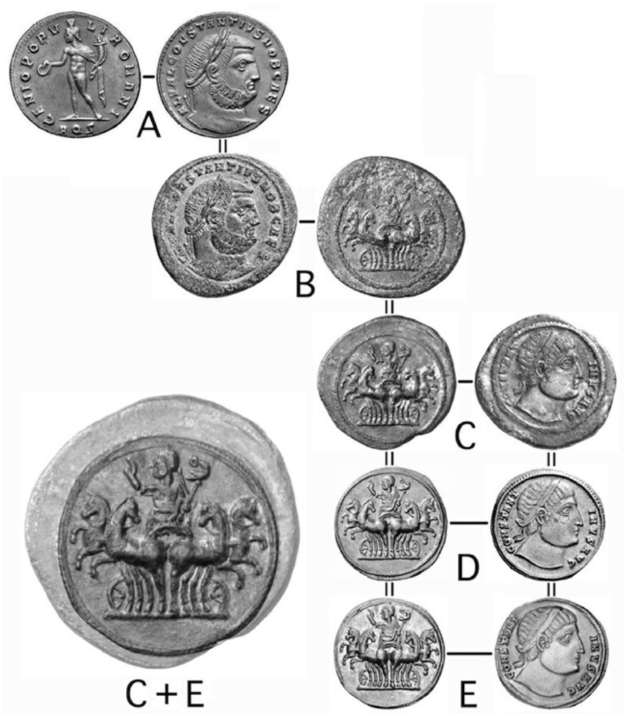


Fig. 10. Die link chain leading to RIC Constantinopolis 1. A-C: Forgeries from the "Lipanoff Studio" in Bulgaria. D-E: Genuine? gold "aurei". Die links marked by double lines. C+E digital overlap of reverses of C and E, X2. Every detail agrees exactly except one, the upper part of the pearl ring. The difference can be caused by either re-engraving, or die transfer of the imagery after which the pearl ring was added, or it could be a natural effect of striking. A: Bronze "follis" with Aquileia mintmark combined with obverse legend not recorded for Aquileia. Prokopov 2004: Lipanoff no. 138. B: Bronze "medallion" combining Constantius I obverse with Constantine reverse. Gorny & Mosch 181 (2009), lot 2459. Diameter 28.5mm, weight 9.18g C: Bronze "Trial piece, Nicomedia", New York Sale 20 (2009), lot 455. Diameter 26mm, weight 8.37g. D: Gold "aureus", RIC Constantinople 1, NAC 49 (2008), lot 475. 5.36g. E: Gold "aureus", RIC Constantinople 1, Rauch 82 (2008), lot 611. 5.32g.

Сл. 10. Везе калупа који води до кованице царске ковнице Цариграда 1. А-Ц: Фалсификати из "Липаноф студија" у Бугарској. Д- Е: Оригинални? златни "ауреи". Везе калупа означене дуплим линијама. Ц + Е дигитална преклапања ревераца за Ц и Е, ИКС2. Сваки детаљ се тачно слаже, осим једног, горњи део бисерног прстена.Разлика може бити изазвана било поновним гравирањем, или преносом слике од калупа након чега је додат бисерни прстен, или то може бити природни ефекат ковања.: Бронзани "Фолис" са ознаком ковнине Аквилеје у комбинацији са легендом аверса која није забележена у Аквилеји. Прокопов 2004: Липаноф бр. 138. Б: Бронзани "медаљон" који комбинује аверс Констанција I са Константином на реверсу. Горни & Мош 181 (2009), лот 2459. Пречник 28.5мм, тежина 9.18г Ц: Бронза "Пробни комад, Никомедија", продаја у Њујорку 20 (2009), лот 455. Пречник 26мм, тежина 8.37г. Д: златни "ауреус", кованица царске ковнице Цариград 1, НАЦ 49 (2008), лот 475. 5.36г. Е: златни "ауреус", кованица царске ковнице Цариград 1, Рауш 82 (2008), лот 611. 5.32г.



Fig. 11. Siliqua from Constantinopolis showing Constantine wearing a plain diadem, in contrast to RIC 5 which shows a rosette-diadem. This may be an example of a vicennial isse struck during Constantine's visit in March 326. Gorny & Mosch 122, lot 2273. Diameter 19mm, 3.51g.

Сл. 11. Силиква из Цариграда која приказује Константина који носи обичну дијадему, за разлику од кованице царске ковнице 5 која приказује розетбу дијадему. Ово може бити пример изради у част двадесетогодишњице током Константинове посете у марту 326. Горни & Мош 122, лот 2273. Приватна колекција

RIC 4: this was based entirely on a questionable solidus specimen listed without illustration in 1788 and lost in 1831 in the infamous theft from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. Bruun stated: "Though the consular bust of Crispus, outdated by 326, arouses suspicion about the correctness of the catalogue description and the genuineness of the coin, it has been accepted in the list below"[95]. The present author sees no reason to accept this piece.

RIC 5: this is a siliqua struck for Constantine. At least 15 examples show him wearing elaborate rosette-diadems. The diadems clearly indicate that the type post-dates the vicennalia. Two otherwise similar examples show a plain diadem (**Fig. 11**)[96]. These specimens could conceivably represent a small silver issue struck on Constantine's March 326 visit. If so, they are the only known examples of a vicennial celebration issue from Constantinople in precious metal.

RIC 6: this was listed as a silver piece[97] but further examples prove that it is bronze[98], and of a much later date, as shown by Constantine's rosette-diadem. The two caesars shown on the reverse are therefore not Crispus and Constantine caesar, but the latter accompanied by Constantius caesar.

In conclusion, we cannot find any gold or silver issues from Constantinople that can be associated with the vicennalia with any degree of certainty. The first bronze issue of Constantinople, the dynastic bronzes, were struck on the occasion, but perhaps the new mint did not yet have facilites for the production of gold and silver. If the two siliquae described under RIC 5 above (Fig. 11) were indeed struck in March 326, more examples including ones struck for the caesars may turn up, but at present the material is insufficient for firm conclusions.

Thessalonika - Sirmium - Ticinum

In April Constantine stayed in Thessalonika, and the AU01 issue was struck again (RIC 131, 147, 148; Fig. 9F-H). No examples are known of

95 Bruun 1966, p. 563.

96 Gorny & Mosch 122, lot 2273; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 2.837g.

97 Alföldi 1963, Bruun 1966.

98 Dmitry Markov 11, lot 319; NAC 23, lot 1682.



Fig. 12. Solidi of AU01 type from Ticinum (A) and Trier (B-C). A: Ticinum RIC 193. Bibliotheque Nationale de France. This example was figured by Alföldi 1963, pl. 11, no. 164. B: Trier RIC 498, BM-AN00659693_001_l. C: Trier RIC 497, Christie's 841009, lot 159.:

Сл. 12. АУ01 врсте из Павије (А) и Трира (Б-Ц).: кованица царске ковнице 193. Б

Constantine's interlacing wreaths type, nor of the Crispus type, but given the rarity of the material, it can be postulated that they were struck but remain to be found.

The next stop where the issue was struck was Sirmium. All five types are known (RIC 56, 62-65; Fig. 9I-M).

The final stop where the issue was struck was Ticinum. Again, all five types are known (RIC 179, 192-196; Fig. 9N-R). In addition, the reverse type used for the caesars was struck also for Constantine (RIC 193; Fig. 12A).

Trier

Constantine's known stays and dates preclude the possibility of a visit to Trier during the vicennial journey. Up until Constantine's vicennalia, Crispus had his residence in Trier. Constantine had repeatedly delegated his authority to Crispus to strike gold and silver on his behalf. Some coins seemingly of the AU01 issue are known from Trier. One of these combines Constantine's obverse and legend with the Victory reverse; Bruun regarded this as a mule (Fig. 12B). However, at least three examples are known so the type must be intentional. The type was struck also at Ticinum (RIC 193; Fig. 12A) but was apparently not produced at the other mints along the route. No example from Trier is known of the seated Victoria type nor any vicennial issues for the caesars, but this may simply may reflect the rarity of the material.

Depeyrot (1995) assigned some further types to the vicennalian donatives from Trier, his issue 32. Also Brun (1966) listed several further types (mainly multiples) as being struck concurrent with AU01. All of these fall outside the scope of this study, but will be treated elsewhere. (**Fig. 12**)

Rome

There is no known example of any AU01 type from the mint of Rome, and the author proposes that none were struck there.

Conclusions from the AU01 issue

No gold coins of the AU01 types were struck at any other mint than those listed above, and there is no indication of a repetition of an issue at any mint. The most parsimonious interpretation is that AU01 is an issue struck along Constantine's vicennial route[99].

GOLD SOLIDI: AU02 TYPES - FAUSTA AND HELENA

There are in total only three issues in precious metals known for Fausta and/or Helena. The first comprises the small silver pieces struck in the name of Fausta in Trier in 307 to celebrate her marriage to Constantine[100]. The second issue is also from Trier, comprising gold multiples struck in 324 to celebrate Fausta's motherhood[101]. The third and by far the greatest issue, with gold solidi and multiples struck for both Helena and Fausta, celebrated Constantine's vicennalia. The latter issue is called AU02 herein and is described below.

The AU02 issue comprises a coherent group of gold pieces struck for Helena and Fausta (Figs. 13 and 14). Apart from the completely different Trier issue mentioned above, all solidi and multiples struck in the names of Helena and Fausta are from Nicomedia, Thessalonika, Sirmium and Ticinum. These are the same mints that produced AU01. Bruun (1966) dated them to 324-5 (except RIC Thessalonika 149, dated to 326), and considered them to have been struck in connection with the elevation of Fausta and Helena to Augustae (inferred date 8 November 324). However, it is significant that all solidi and multiples of the two augustae were struck at the exact same mints as the AU01 issue. It is repetedly stressed herein that gold was a donative and was struck at the emperor's residence. After defeating Licinius, Constantine spent his time in the east, not going into the Balkans. Rather than assuming that gold was transferred from mint to mint across the Balkan peninsula while the emperor was elsewhere, as Bruun's dates demand, it is likely that these solidi were part of the same vicennial celebration issue as AU01. The celebration issues were all dynastic, stressing the members of Constantine's family, so types for Helena and Fausta would be expected to occur.

No new types were created for the augustae, but obverses and reverses were of the exact same types as those struck in bronze at all the imperial mints. Also the spelling of the reverse legend is consistent with the forms in the bronze coinage: for Helena SECVRITAS REI PVBLICE without a penultimate A[102], and for Fausta SPES REI PVBLICAE and SALVS REI PVBLICAE, both with a penultimate letter A.

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[99] A single, questionable specimen exists: Mazzini (1958, pl. 19, fig. 105v) figured a Constantine interlaced wreaths type solidus (4.28g) with mint mark SMH. Constantine did stop at Heraclea early on the vicennial tour, but there are neither any dynastic bronze coins known (see discussion above) nor any gold or silver issues. Uniquely, Mazzini's example carries the legend CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG and the diadem is hatched. At present, the authenticity of this coin is questioned. Perhaps for this reason, Bruun did not include the coin in RIC VII.

[100] RIC 6 no. 756 and Bastien 1994 pl. 176, fig. 1.

[101] RIC 7 Trier 443-445.

[102] Although Cayón 1985, p. 2280 lists the latter spelling from a Ticinum solidus,

It is possible that a complete vicennial series has been preserved of the solidi and a good selection of the multiples struck for the augustae. For Helena, the reverse always figures Securitas, and for Fausta, either Salus or Spes. At Thessalonika and Sirmium, Fausta's solidi figure Spes, and no multiples for her are known. In contrast, Nicomedia and Ticinum both struck multiples for the two augustae. Here Fausta's solidi figure Salus, whereas her multiples figure Spes. This consistent pattern indicates a strict coordination and shows unambiguously that the solidi and multiples were all part of the same production program.

Table 4. Solidi and multiples struck in the names of Helena and Fausta for the vicennial celebrations.

Mint	Solidi	RIC no.	Multiples	RIC no.	Bruun's date	Revised date
Nicomedia	Helena SMN Helena SMNG Fausta SMN Salus Fausta SMNB Salus	79 80 77 78	Helena SMN Fausta SMN Spes	- 69A	324-5	Late 325? / early 326
Thessalonika	Helena SMTS Helena SMTSΓ Helena SMTSЄ Fausta SMTSA Spes Fausta SMTSΓ Spes Fausta SMTSΔ Spes	149 134 134 137 137 137	Helena SMTS	-	326 324	March-April 326
Sirmium	Helena SIRM Fausta SIRM Spes	60 61			324-5	April-May 326
Ticinum	Helena SMT Fausta SMT Salus	183 182	Helena SMT Fausta SMT Spes	177 178	324-5	July 326

GOLD SOLIDI: AU03 TYPES

The AU03 type has the reverse type VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG with seated Victory holding shield inscribed VOT/XX supported by Genius. The type was struck as solidi, and also occurs on gold fractions (see below). The solidus type from Nicomedia (RIC 103; Fig. 15) is known from at least seven examples (Depeyrot 1995)[103]. The anepigraphic obverse with Constantine in heavenly gaze and a plain diadem points decisively to a vicennial issue, and it must thus date from late 325 or very early 326, before Constantine's departure from Nicomedia.

This type has also been described from material assigned to the mint of Rome (RIC 273)[104]. There are, however, considerable uncertainties surrounding the material. Bruun figured the same example twice, from rather poor casts, as RIC Rome 273 (location of original given as Vienna; Fig. 15C), and again as RIC Nicomedia 103 (location of original given as Glasgow; Fig. 15D). Bruun's photos do not permit unambiguous reading of the mint mark. At about the same time, Alföldi figured the exact same specimen[105] and recorded the mint mark as

almost certainly in error.

103 Best illustration given by Vasic and Popovic 1975, fig. 27.

104 Bruun 1966, p. 327 cited three or possibly four examples.

105 Alföldi 1963, pl. 11, fig. 171; ANS1944.100.7309, see images on line.



Fig. 13. Medallions and solidi for Fausta and Helena from Nicomedia (A-D) and Thessalonika (E, F). A: medallion of 2 solidi, RIC 69A, Bibliotheque Nationale de France. B: medallion of 1 ½ solidi, not in RIC, NAC 33 (2006), lot 600. C: medallion of 1 ½ solidi, not in RIC, Vasic and Popovic 1975, no. 11. D-F: solidi. D: RIC 78, NAC 38, lot 238. E: RIC 80, NAC 38, lot 236. F: RIC 137, off. D (unlisted in RIC), NAC 15, lot 4887 (also NAC 42, lot 205). G: RIC 149, CNG 57, lot 1420.

Сл. 13. Медаљони и солиди за Фауста и Јелену из Никомедије (АД) и Солуна (Е, Ф).: Медаљон од 2 солида, кованица царске ковнице 69А, Национална библиотека Француске. Б: медаљон од 1 ½ солида, није кованица царске ковнице, НАЦ 33 (2006), лот 600. Ц-Ф: солиди. Ц: кованица царске ковнице 78, НАЦ 38, лот 238. Д: кованица царске ковнице 80, НАЦ 38, доста 236. Е: кованица царске ковнице 137, ковница. Д (није на списку кованица царске ковнице), НАЦ 15, лот 4887 (такође НАЦ 42, лот 205). Ф: кованица царске ковнице 149, КПГ 57, доста 1420 (бивши Спинк 000413, лот 143)

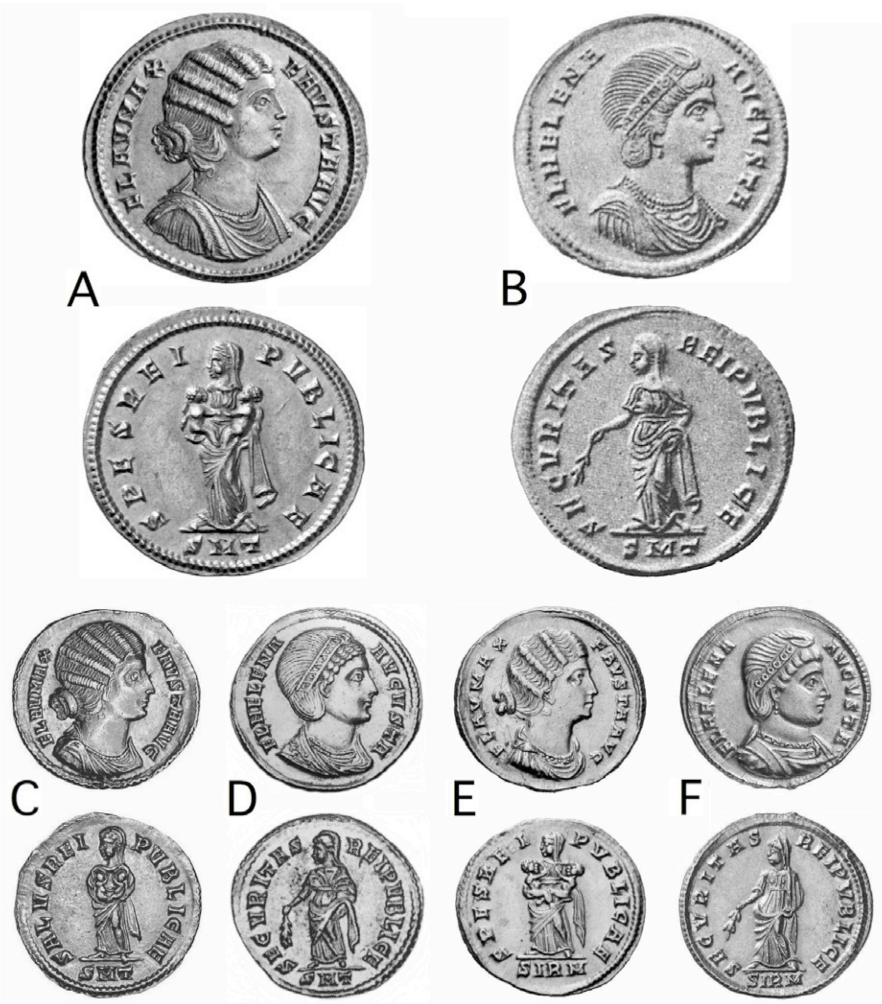


Fig 14. Medallions and solidi for Fausta and Helena from Ticinum (A-D) and Sirmium (E, F). A: medallion of 2 solidi, RIC 178, Münzen und Medaillen Basel 93, lot 279. B: medallion of 2 solidi, RIC 177, Alföldi, pl. 10, fig. 155. C-F: solidi. C: RIC 182, Stacks 090112, lot 3004. D: RIC 183, Sotheby's (London 1996-07-08), lot 181. E: RIC 61, UBS 78, lot 1955. F: RIC 60, Leu 93, lot 137.

Сл 14. Медаљони и солиди за Фауста и Јелене из Павије (А-Д) и Сремске Митровице (Е, Ф).: Медаљон од 2 солида, кованица царске ковнице 178, Мунзен унд Медаљен Базел 93, лот 279. Б: медаљон од 2 солида, кованица царске ковнице 177, Алфолди, пл. 10, сл. 155. Ц-Ф: солиди. Ц: кованица царске ковнице ИЦ 182, Стакс 090112, лот 3004. Д: кованица царске ковнице 183, Сотби (Лондон 1996-07-08), лот 181. Е: кованица царске ковнице 61, УБС 78, лот 1955. Ф: кованица царске ковнице 60, Леу 93, лот 137

SMN, but correctly gave the location as New York (Fig. 15B). Images of this coin, made available on line by the American Numismatic Society, show it to be double struck and the mint mark is ambiguous. Alföldi described the ANS specimen under Katalog No. 597. This catalogue entry also includes a second specimen. This is a specimen from the Trau collection and Alföldi reproduced the images from that catalogue (Fig. 15A)[106]. The mint mark is unquestionably SMN. Although Alföldi wrote his treatise at about the same time as Bruun compiled RIC VII, he could not find any example of the type from Rome. The solidus in Feuardent 1909, lot 325, does, however, appear to show the mint mark SMR. On the basis of the presently available information, RIC Rome 273 needs confirmation.

Bruun further stated that the type was struck at the mint of Constantinople, with a different obverse[107]. However, no such examples are listed in RIC 7. It is possible that at the time of writing, Bruun had a later issue of solidi in mind, subsequently described by Kent in RIC 8 as Constantinople no. 3. This type has a reverse nearly identical to the Nicomedia vicennial issue, but as recognised elsewhere also by Bruun[108], it was struck after the death of Constantine for the vicennalia of his son Constantine II.

A gold fraction of the same reverse type has also been described from Nicomedia (RIC 107), Thessalonika (RIC 140), Sirmium (RIC 66), Ticinum (RIC 197), and Rome (RIC 274)[109]. The reverse is the same as in the solidi, including the legend VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG and VOT XX on the shield. The obverse legend is D N CONSTANTINVS P F AVG and Constantine is portrayed with a laureate and cuirassed bust. This is a style that Constantine had abandoned for solidi and siliquae before 326. The mints are the ones of the vicennial issues described above. It is possible that some or all of these fractions date from the vicennalia, but the gold fractions are difficult to date.

The fraction listed by Bruun as being from Rome (RIC 274) would be the only example of the AU01, AU02 and AU03 gold types to have been struck in Rome if all RIC 273 examples are proven to be from Nicomedia. However, the Rome example is known only from Elmer's (1930b) description. Depeyrot (1995:90) stated: "Elle reste à confirmer". Until the type can be studied, RIC Rome 274 is regarded as of doubtful existence. (**Fig. 15**)

GOLD MULTIPLES

The gold multiples struck for Helena and Fausta have been discussed above under AU02. There is also a variety of multiples struck for Constantine and his sons that certainly appear to be vicennial issues, but a detailed study of these is beyond the scope of this paper.

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106 Sammlung Trau 1935, pl. 46, no. 4064; Alföldi 1963, pl. 11, fig. 170.

107 Bruun 1966, p. 617, note 103.

108 Bruun 1966, p. 565.

109 Bruun suggested that the reverse type was introduced at Sirmium, on a gold fraction, sometime after 320 (RIC 11). This occurrence carries the obverse legend IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG.



Fig. 15. Solidi of AU03 type. A: Nicomedia RIC 103 figured by Alföldi. B-D: Rome RIC 273, ANS1944.100.7309. A: Alföldi 1963, pl. 11, fig. 170, from Sammlung Trau, no. 4064. Image from Trau reproduced by Alföldi. B: Alföldi 1963, pl. 11, fig. 171, described under Katalog No. 597, mint mark given as SMN, location given as New York. C: Bruun 1966, worn cast, figured as RIC Rome 273, location given as Vienna. D: figured by Bruun 1966, from another cast, as RIC Nicomedia 103, location given as Glasgow.

Сл. 15. Солиди типа АУ03. АД: Никомедија кованица царске ковнице 103 тумачен од Алфолдија (А, Б) и Бруна (Ц, Д).: Алфолди 1963, пл. 11, сл. 170, из Самлунг Трауа, бр. 4064. Слика из Трауа репродукована од Алфолдија. Б: Алфолди 1963, пл. 11, сл. 171, описана у каталог бр 597, знак ковнице уписан као СМН, локација у Њујорку. Ц: Примерак Б тумачен од стране Бруна, из прилично лошег одливка, као кованица царске ковнице Рима 273, локација у Бечу. Д: Примерак Б тумачен од стране Бруна, из другог лошег одливка, као кованица царске ковнице Никомидија 103, локација у Глазгову

SILVER

The silver struck under Constantine during the period under study here is much scarcer than the gold. There are some issues that can only be vicennial due to the presence of Crispus and Constantius and plain diadems for Constantine, but more material and a detailed study is necessary for firmer conclusions. Only the best known types will be mentioned here.

Siliquae: AR01 types

A type that can be ascribed to Constantine's vicennial tour is the three palm branches siliqua, here called the AR01 type. Such siliquae are known for the three caesars, but not for Constantine, and the three branches may symbolise the three caesars. The type may have been created already during Constantine's stay in Antioch in early 325 as proposed herein, like the dynastic bronzes. Bruun listed a unique Crispus specimen, with mint mark SMAN[110]. Very few specimens are known of the three palm branches type. The most complete series,

[110] Bruun 1966, p. 720, in Addendum to p. 689, as no. 70A, from Prague.

including all three caesars, is known from Nicomedia (Fig. 16 B-D)[111]. The three palm branches siliquae were struck also at Thessalonika and Ticinum (Fig. 17C)[112]. The type was also struck at Rome, presumably during Constantine's vicennalia (Fig. 17D)[113], but a Crispus example is needed to confirm the date. With so few specimens known, new finds may change the picture.

Siliquae should have been struck also for Constantine as part of the above issues. As in the gold issues, a different reverse design would have been used. A very rare type of siliqua, not listed in RIC 7 but now known from Antioch (Fig. 17A), Nicomedia (Fig. 16A) and Ticinum (Fig. 17B), has the appropriate obverse, i.e., it is anepigraphic and shows Constantine gazing upwards, wearing a plain diadem[114]. The reverse shows Victory advancing left, holding trophy and palm branch[115]. The Antioch specimens carry the mint mark SMAN, as does the Crispus AR01 example. The Nicomedia specimen bears the mint mark SMN, in contrast with the plain N used for AR01 type of the three caesars. The Ticinum specimens show the mint mark MT, same as the AR01 coin known for Constantine caesar. The iconography, producing mints, and issue composition of these types are unlikely to be coincidental, and together they indicate that this reverse may be the one for Constantine in the AR01 issue[116].

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[111] Bruun 1966 listed a single example for Constantius caesar, as no. 187, dated to 336-7. The reverse legend is given as CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES, and there is no star above the branches. More recently, examples for all three caesars have surfaced. A unique Crispus specimen - CNG 79, lot 1236 and Gorny & Mosch 107, lot 586; two examples for Constantine caesar - Lanz 120, lot 580 and another figured on FORVM's internet site by Optimus; and two for Constantius caesar - Lanz 112, lot 893, and Ruske 2009, fig. 3. All are uniform in giving the caesar's name followed by CAESAR, not NOB CAES, and all have a star above the branches (Fig. 16). All also differ from RIC 187 in the short cropped hair and shape of the diadem. The peculiarities in the specimen of RIC 187 indicate that it needs renewed study.

[112] Thessalonika RIC 195: A unique Constantine caesar example described by Voetter 1903 and dated by Bruun 1966 to 335. Ticinum RIC 184: A unique Constantine caesar example from Canessa 1907 lot 2926, dated by Bruun 1966 to 324-5.

[113] Bruun 1966 listed two examples each for Constantius caesar, Rome no. 379, and for Constantine caesar, Rome no. 380. They were dated to 336-7. A further example of RIC 379, from the Musee des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, is figured here in Fig 17D. A newly discovered Rome specimen complicates the picture, bearing the legend CONSTANTIVS NOB C, showing Constantius wearing a laurel wreath (Gorny & Mosch 125, lot 590). There are no matching types from Rome or any other mint, and the style is unusual. It could perhaps belong to a later issue, but more likely it is a forgery.

[114] None of these were known to Bruun (1966). From Antioch three specimens are known to the author: New York Sale 2, lot 350, Spink 4018, lot 257, and Edgar L Owen website, item b7699. The unique Nicomedia specimen is in the Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Paris. One Ticinum specimen is in Museum of Fine Arts Boston, no. 1971.635, and another occurred in New York Sale 2**,** lot 349.

[115] This is a type known from solidi clearly of post-vicennial date.

[116] Some support for the inclusion of the Victoria type of Constantine in AR01 is provided by a comparable, later issue of siliquae from Siscia (RIC 8, nos 53-69) struck after the death of Constantine and before spring 340. Kent (1981, p. 340) stated for the type of siliquae showing Victory walking l., struck only for Constantine II, that "It is best grouped with the "Three palms" type of the younger sons, for each palm must surely symbolise an



Fig. 16. Silver issue AR01, siliquae, from Nicomedia. A: Victory holding trophy type, for Constantine, not in RIC, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. B: Three palm branches type for Crispus, not in RIC, CNG 79, lot 1236. C: Same type or Constantine caesar, not in RIC, Lanz 120, lot 580. D: Same type for Constantius caesar, not in RIC, Lanz 112, lot 893.

Сл. 16. Сребрњак АР01, силиква из Никомидије.: Победа држи трофеј, за Константина, није кованица царске ковнице, Национална библиотека Француске, Париз. Б: Три гране палме за Криспа, није кованица царске ковнице, ЦНГ 79, парцела 1236. Ц: Исти тип или Константин цезар, није кованица царске ковнице, Ланц 120, лот 580. Д: Исти тип за Констанција Цезара, није кованица царске ковнице, Ланц 112, лот 893

The specimens for Constantine and Crispus from Antioch pose an interesting question: were they struck in early 325, during Constantine's visit (intended or actual), or later, during the vicennalia? The former alternative permits the presence of the court but would mean that the plain diadem was introduced well before the vicennial celebrations began 25 July 325. The later date excludes any possibility of Constantine's presence. In this paper, the former alternative is preferred for reasons outlined in Appendix 2.

The first post-vicennial issue in precious metal; AR02

The first post-vicennial issue is included here to demonstrate the difference between the vicennial issues and later ones. It is proposed here that after the fall of Crispus, and before Constantine left the city, a single silver issue was struck at Rome[117].

Two entries for Rome in RIC 7 refer to siliquae with anepigraphic obverse and with the reverse Victory advancing left, holding wreath and palm branch, namely RIC 377 and 378. These were dated by Bruun to 336-337. The late date was presumably based on the style of RIC 377. The late style is explained by the fact that the obverse of RIC 377 shows Constantine II as augustus, not his

Augustus." The Siscia issue is large and well known, and the only satisfactory explanation is that the senior augustus, Constantine II, was represented by the Victory type whereas his two younger brothers were represented by the three palm branches type.

[117] The unique silver medallion RIC Rome 276 is of vicennial type. However, the mintmark is unreadable, and according to Bruun himself (1966:327) possibly SMN.



Fig. 17. Silver issue AR01, siliquae, from Antioch, Ticinum and Rome. A: From Antioch, Victory holding trophy type, for Constantine, Spink 4018 lot 257. B: From Ticinum, Victory holding trophy type, for Constantine, NY sale 2, lot 349. C: From Ticinum, three palm branches type for Constantine caesar, RIC 184, private collection. D: From Rome, three palm branches type, for Constantius caesar, RIC 379, from the Musee des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, France. .

Сл. 17. Сребрњак АР01, силиква из Антиохије, Павије и Рима.: Из Антиохије, Победа држи трофеј, за Константина, Спинк 4018 лот 257. Б: Из Павије, победа држи трофеј, за Константина, Њујорк продаја 2, лот 349. Ц: Из ПАвије, три гране палме за Константина Цезар, кованица царске ковнице 184, приватна збирка. Д: Из Рима, три гране палме, за Констанција Цезара, кованица царске ковнице 379, из Музеја у Лиону

father[118]. The entry should thus be deleted from RIC 7. On the other hand, RIC 378 is regarded here as a vicennial production and it is accordingly redated to 326.

Since RIC 7 was published, RIC 378 (Constantine caesar) is known from at least six more specimens (Fig. 18B). In addition, ten examples of this type for Constantius caesar, unknown to Bruun, have surfaced (Fig. 18C). Most importantly, at least ten specimens with this reverse but with Constantine himself have come to light (Fig. 18A). On these, Constantine is wearing a pearl-bordered diadem, never a plain, hatched, or bejeweled.

With so many examples for Constantine, Constantine caesar and Constantius caesar, the absence of Crispus is statistically secure (as is the absence of Constans). The date must therefore be between July 326 and December 333. After the fateful visit in 326, Constantine may have visited Rome only once, in late 328 or early 329, and by then the diadem had developed far from the original, plain version (see discussion herein). The diadem shows that the issue is earlier than the subsequent ones along the return journey from Rome. Accordingly the AR02 issue is dated here to Constantine's 326 visit. The absence of Crispus means that the most likely date for the issue is shortly before

[118] This was pointed out by Delbrueck 1933 (pl. 6, fig. 11) and Cahn 1984.



Fig. 18. Siliquae of AR02 type from Rome. A, for Constantine, showing a pearl-bordered diadem, not in RIC. Helios 7, lot 144, 3.68g. B, for Constantine caesar, RIC 378. Hirsch 183, lot 1681. C, for Constantius caesar, not in RIC, CNG electronic auction 172, lot 299. A-C: PRD 17mm.

Сл. 18. Силиква типа АР02 из Рима., За Константина, показује бисерну дијадему, није кованица царске ковнице. РЕФ. Б, за Константина Цезара, кованица царске ковнице 378. РЕФ Ц, За Констанција Цезара, није кованица царске ковнице, РЕФ

Constantine's departure from Rome in August or September 326[119]. This date is the earliest occurrence of Constantine wearing a pearl-bordered diadem. All examples of this issue known for the caesars show a plain diadem. (**Fig. 18**)

APPENDIX 2: Did Constantine visit Antioch?

Various vicennial types described in this paper appear to have been introduced in Antioch[120]. The question if Constantine ever visited Antioch has been unresolved, and a short review of the circumstances supporting the proposal that Constantine visited Antioch in late 324 - early 325 are presented here.

There is written evidence that Constantine intended to visit the east in late 324 - early 325[121]. Two papyri show that preparations for his visit were being

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[119] Whether due to the extraordinary events in Rome or not, the mint of Rome closed after the departure of Constantine. As recognized already by Bruun (1966, p. 294), the mint remained closed for about two and a half years, opening again in late 328 or early 329. It is proposed here that the re-opening of the mint co-incided with the visit by Constantine for the burial of Helena, and that the dynastic bronzes of the SMRP issue were struck on the occasion.

[120] The dynastic bronzes; and both types of AR01, that is Victory holding trophy type, for Constantine, and three palm branches for the caesars.

[121] Opitz 1935, Urkunde 17.15. This is the letter included by Eusebius in his Vita Constantini 2.64-72.

made in Alexandria[122]. One of these papyri is dated 13 January, 325[123]. It mentions the receipt of provisions "for the coming visit" to Egypt. Another papyrus, dated 26 May 325, deals with "animals which are being sent to Babylon[124] for the Imperial visit"[125]. The first date agrees well with the possible dates for such a visit. It is inconceivable that Constantine came as far as Egypt in 325, but a visit to Antioch is indicated by both epigraphic and numismatic evidence, and is permitted by the known time constraints[126].

In his letter to the contrahents presbyter Arius and the bishop Alexander of Alexandria, variously dated to late 324 or early 325, Constantine says:

Not long ago I visited Nicomedia, and had intended to proceed immediately from that city to the East. It was while I was hurrying towards you, and had already finished the greater part of the journey, that the news of this matter reversed my plan[127].

The matter that Constantine mentions was the outbreak of new controversy between Arius and Alexander. At the time, Arius had been allowed to return to Alexandria in Egypt where Alexander was bishop, but after a quiet period their conflict had broken out anew. Constantine states that he "finished the greater part of the journey" to see them, i.e., it is clear that he traveled far towards Alexandria. Constantine's statement does not contradict a stay in Antioch in late 324 - early 325, but is rather consistent with such a visit. The Council of Antioch seems to have taken place in early 325, and the Arian schism was a major theme of the meeting. If Constantine's visit and the council coincided, he would have received fresh news about the controversy from the bishops at the meeting. Among these were his entrusted advisor Ossius of Cordoba, whom Constantine had dispatched earlier to the east to mediate in the conflict, and who was now stopping in Antioch on his way back from the failed mission. Another prominent participant was Eusebius of Caesarea, later Constantine's foremost propagandist, who was excommunicated at the council for supporting Arius. Constantine's statement agrees well with how the Arian confict was flaring up and causing new controversy.

The gold and silver struck at Antioch tell a convoluted and ambiguous story [128]. It is attempted here to sort out only a few of the ambiguities.

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122 P. Oxy. X 1261 (Grenfell & Hunt 1914, pp. 184-185), and P. Oxy. XIV 1626 (Grenfell & Hunt 1920).

123 P. Oxy. X 1261, dated 18 Tubi in "The year after the third consulship of our masters Crispus and Constantinus", which translates to 13 January, 325.

124 Babylon in the Nile delta, not Babylon in Mesopotamia.

125 P. Oxy. XIV 1626, dated 1 Pauni "In the consulship of Paulinus and Julianus" which translates to 26 May 325.

126 Smith 1971, p. 179: "Under favourable conditions, Alexandria was three weeks from Nicomedia." Antioch was half way.

127 English translation from Wisconsin Lutheran College, http://www.fourthcentury.com/urkunde-17/. It would not be far fetched to speculate that the letter was written from Antioch. That would explain how Eusebius had access to it and could include it in his Vita Constantini.

128 The gold types from Antioch described by Bruun as "anachronistic" were also struck at Nicomedia and Cyzikus, and a comprehensive treatment of these types will be presented elsewhere.

Antioch solidi of ADVENTUS type, and "filial issues"

A fair number of solidi struck for Constantine in Antioch are of Adventus type[129]. Adventus types commemorated the emperor's visit to a minting city or a nearby place[130]. Bruun regarded the Antioch issue as commemorating Constantine's actual arrival in the city and dated the type to late 324 - early 325, with the later date preferred[131]. Examples known to Bruun all had a star after the mint mark SMAN. Later, some examples have surfaced that lack the star but are identical in all other aspects, including the mis-spelling "AOVENTVS"[132]. A third variety has a dot instead of star after SMAN, but shows the same spelling error[133]. The fine details of all of these solidi are exceedingly similar, and they must all have been struck for the same event. The star, the dot, and the absence of a distinguishing mark are perhaps best interpreted as a "batch numbers" indicating one of several batches of gold bullion, used for the successive parts of the issue. The considerable output of the Adventus issues is indicated by the fact that at least six different obverse dies are known.

Apart from the large output dated by Bruun to 324-325, there is a single gold type dated by him to 326. This is Antioch RIC 70, a gold multiple of 1 ½ solidi. Bruun dated this type to 326 based on the consular busts of Constantine caesar and Constantius caesar. It constituted one of his "filial issues", that is, issues that seemed to him to have been struck in the emperor's absence[134]. Such issues, if correctly interpreted, would constitute exceptions to the general rule. If such exceptions were numerous, they would confuse or even prohibit the correlation between the emperor's travels and the striking of precious metals. For the period discussed in this paper, Bruun proposed four occurrences of "filial issues"[135]. It may be pointed out that all four of these issues have been studied by the author and all are rejected as filial issues. This will be dealt with in depth elsewhere.

Comparison of RIC 37[136] and RIC 70[137] reveals that the two types must have been engraved by the same celator. Further, numerous fine and complex details are nearly identical which can reasonably only be the case if the obverses and reverses of the two types were engraved within a very short time span, i.e. for a single issue. A time gap of 1 ½ years between RIC 37 and RIC 70 is

129 RIC 7 Antioch 48.

130 For bronze, the type may have been issued without an imperial visit, as indicated by some types from London.

131 Bruun 1966, p. 665, note 3.

132 CNG 63, lot 1539; Sothebys (London) 1996-03-07, lot 214.

133 Hirsch 281, lot 1068.

134 Bruun 1961, pp. 102-104.

135 Bruun 1961, p. 103.

136 One example is known, see Toynbee 1944, pl. 31, fig. 7.

137 Six examples are known to the author.

incompatible with evidence for other Constantinian gold, silver and bronze. Engraving style in a mint was never static, and when individial celators can be identified, their work can be seen to evolve noticeably through time[138].

The conclusion here is that Antioch RIC 70 was contemporary with Antioch RIC 37, 39-41, and that all of these types were struck for the same occasion, very soon after Constantine taking control of the east. The occasion would have been Constantine's visit in late 324 or early 325. Bruun's "filial issue" 1 is therefore rejected here as such.

To evaluate the hypothesis of an Antioch visit by Constantine in 324/325 we therefore need to consider the following circumstances:

1. Several written sources state that Constantine intended to visit the East soon after the defeat of Licinius.
2. Constantine himself states that he travelled much of the way towards Egypt.
3. A large amount of donatives in gold and silver, to be distributed during an imperial visit, were produced in Antioch in 324/325.
4. Numerous Adventus types in gold celebrate the arrival of Constantine in Antioch.
5. The only Antiochene gold type previously dated to 326, a time when Constantine is known to have been elsewhere, is redated here to 324/325 and can no longer be regarded as a "filial issue" sensu Bruun.
6. The dynastic bronzes, which are issues of donative character, were introduced in Antioch.
7. The two types of AR01, an issue of donative character, were introduced in Antioch.

Parsimony leaves only one option: Constantine visited Antioch. A credible contrary hypothesis must counter all of the above evidence.

[138] The author's studies, especially in the Constantinian bronze from the mints of Rome and Constantinopolis.

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ДВАДЕСЕТОГОДИШЊИЦА КОНСТАНТИНА И СМРТ КРИСПА

Година 326. била је прекретница за западну цивилизацију. Римски цар Константин прославио је 20 година од ступања на престо. Он је путовао из Никомедије за Рим, и делио је дарове у злату и сребру дуж пута. Завршне прославе одржане су у Риму. Оне су се завршиле катастрофом. Константинов најстарији син Криспа је убијен по наређењу свог оца. Новооткривени новчић указује да се то догодило убрзо након доласка царске породице у Рим. Константинову супругу Фаусту такође је снашла иста судбина. Посета је довело до сукоба између Константина и владајуће класе у Риму. Није било дарова у злату за римско племства, а ковница је била затворена када је Константин напустио град. Константин је окренуо леђа Риму, а његов нови град Цариград постао је центар римске империје.